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Israel Steps Up Defense Against Iraq

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Service
JERUSALEM — Facing a military reprisal by Iraq in answer to the bombing of the nuclear reactor near Baghdad, Israel remains on alert against even a limited counterattack, sources said Wednesday.

Officials refused to discuss any steps, but they are understood to include increased air-defense alertness and jet interceptors on standby, as well as closer monitoring of the eastern borders through aerial surveillance and radar.

Israeli fighter-bombers to destroy a 70-megawatt French-built nuclear reactor near Baghdad on Sunday.

The Israeli chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Rafael Eitan, in a television interview Tuesday night, said he has taken into account the possibility of an Iraqi retaliation. Israeli

hopes of avoiding radar detection on the way.

Because Iraq has never engaged Israel in a direct, large-scale military clash — limiting its 1967 effort to the deployment of a brigade in Jordan — some military officials believe the most likely form of Iraqi reprisal would be a terrorist strike against an Israeli installation abroad, possibly in Europe.

Palestinian guerrilla groups backed by Iraq include the Arab Liberation Front, established by the Iraqi Ba'ath party in 1969; the Popular Palestinian Struggle Front; and the Palestinian Liberation Front.

Israeli sources said that embassies abroad as well as airline offices and other Israeli businesses had been warned of possible terrorist action.

Meanwhile, a political furor erupted in Israel over the timing of Sunday's raid, with opposition Labor Party leader Shimon Peres charging that Mr. Begin had placed his re-election above the national interest.

While stressing that he supports the raid, Mr. Peres accused Mr. Begin of showing a lack of responsibility in failing to explore the diplomatic potential inherent in the changeover of gov-

ernments in France. Mr. Peres said that before the French election he talked with Francois Mitterrand about France's sale of nuclear reactors to Iraq, and the Socialist leader, who now is president, said he was opposed to giving Iraq any nuclear military capability.

Eban Speaks Out
Abba Eban, a former foreign minister and now a Labor Party candidate for the Knesset (parliament), also criticized the timing of the raid. He said it was irresponsible of Mr. Begin to have invited Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to a summit conference in Sharm el-Sheikh last Thursday, three days before the bombing.

The proximity of events, Mr. Eban said, caused Mr. Sadat unnecessary embarrassment in the Arab world.

However, Mr. Eban stressed that the thrust of his criticism is directed at European countries that helped Iraq achieve a nuclear capability.

At a meeting of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Wednesday, Mr. Begin distributed copies of a letter from Mr. Peres dated May 10 which indicated

that he was opposed to giving Iraq any nuclear military capability.

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Israel Again Embarrasses Sadat With Raid

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service
CAIRO — President Anwar Sadat, who has staked his political career on proving to the Arab world that peace with Israel is both possible and beneficial, has suffered another major embarrassment to his controversial policy toward the Jewish state, according to Western and Egyptian analysts here.

The Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, outside Baghdad, has visibly infuriated and humiliated the entire Egyptian political leadership, coming as it did four days after Mr. Sadat's meeting with Prime Minister Menachem Begin at Sharm-el-Sheikh at which he had urged, with seeming success, the Israeli leader to exercise restraint in Lebanon.

The latest Israeli action, according to analysts here, can only serve to plunge Mr. Sadat back into the isolation and discredit in the Arab world from which he had just shown signs of beginning to emerge.

This was because of his initiative in asking, and getting, Mr. Begin's promise to give the United States ample time without deadlines to find a peaceful solution to the Syrian missile crisis in Lebanon.

Guerrilla Positions
Mr. Sadat also called upon Mr. Begin to cease Israeli attacks on Palestinian guerrilla positions in Lebanon. While the Israeli leader did not give his public approval to this at the Sharm-el-Sheikh meeting, observers here note that there have been no major Israeli raids on these positions since then.

Now, whatever points Mr. Sadat might have scored in the Arab

world by his intervention with Mr. Begin in behalf of the American peace initiative and Palestinians in Lebanon seem certain to be lost in the general Arab outcry over the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear power plant.

Once again, Mr. Sadat has been made to look a fool in Arab eyes by his policy of courting Israel and insisting that peace with the Jewish state can be a paying policy, according to these analysts and some U.S. diplomatic sources seriously concerned about the eroding effect

of the raid on Iraq.

Other than a spate of unusually angry statements from Mr. Sadat and his lieutenants, there is no sign so far the Egyptian leader is contemplating any concrete retaliatory action. Indeed, negotiations among Israeli, Egyptian and U.S. officials over arrangements for Israel's final withdrawal from the Sinai got under way in Tel Aviv on Tuesday, as if nothing unusual had happened.

Early Wednesday morning, Mr. Sadat issued a warning to Israel that its "aggression" against Iraq holds "grave consequences" for peace in the Middle East.

"Such actions," he said, "are inconsistent with the requirements of this critical stage of the current efforts for reaching a comprehensive peace as the only way for a more stable and reassuring future."

U.S. Action Urged
Later, Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali of Egypt issued a statement calling upon the United States to take some action to prevent Israel from "perpetrating death and destruction" in the region.

Western analysts and some Egyptian officials said this line of diplomacy — urging the Reagan administration to take some punitive steps against Israel — may be

Bani-Sadr Ally Quits Iran's Central Bank

TEHRAN — The head of Iran's central bank, an ally of President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, has resigned, it was announced Wednesday.

The resignation of Ali Reza Noubakhteh, Mr. Bani-Sadr's ally, is the only power center independent of the Islamic fundamentalist clergy-men who now dominate the government, Majlis and judiciary.

Finance Minister Hussein Namazi has named his deputy, Mohsen Nourbakhsh, to replace Mr. Noubakhteh, it was reported. It said Mr. Nourbakhsh, 33, was nominated at a special session of the Central Assembly of Iranian Banks.

Meanwhile, underscoring Mr. Bani-Sadr's difficulties, deputies approved a bill restricting his right to block legislation, and the armed forces declared their support for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Minutes after the news agency announced Mr. Noubakhteh's resignation Wednesday morning, the Majlis approved a bill that would require the president to sign urgent legislation into law within 48 hours and all other bills within five days.

Army's Announcement
The state radio said the joint staff of the armed forces had announced its support for Ayatollah Khomeini, leader of the Islamic revolution, and the constitution. Mr. Bani-Sadr is military commander-in-chief but the statement did not mention him.

Mr. Noubakhteh, 33, quit Tuesday. He was appointed to the post when Mr. Bani-Sadr was minister of finance in the provisional government formed after the fall of the late shah and was considered one of the president's few allies in the administration.

The transfer of control over his job from the president to Premier Mohammed Ali Rajai, Mr. Bani-Sadr's ideological opponent, was one of several pieces of legislation

produced before ousting Jack Lynch as party leader and premier in December, 1979. As premier, Mr. Haughey is best known for his efforts to negotiate a closer Irish-British relationship in talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain. He maintains that the process could lead to a solution of the Northern Ireland problem.

Crisscrossing the country by helicopter in a presidential-style campaign, Mr. Haughey has stuck to prepared speeches on the issues, while ad-libbing nationalist slogans that go down well in the rural areas where Fianna Fail is strongest.

Under sometimes tough questioning in rare interviews or press conferences, he has blamed Ireland's economic problems on the world recession and contended

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Bulletin

TEHRAN — Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr was dismissed Wednesday from the post of commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the Iranian news agency reported. The order was issued by Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Paris said.

that the president had delayed signing into law.

Mr. Noubakhteh has been sharply critical of the government's economic policies and has said his plans to increase oil exports to balance the large budget, equivalent to \$43 billion, would not work.

The departure of Mr. Noubakhteh removed from Iranian banking the only face well known to the international banking community, analysts in Tehran noted. He played a key role in the complex negotiations for release of the 52 American hostages in January and was credited in the West with keeping the Iranian economy running during the convulsions that followed the Islamic revolution.

But his views were often at variance with those of Iran's political and religious leaders.

The capital, scene of two days of clashes between Muslim extremists and radical leftists backing the president, was quiet Wednesday.

Exc-Deputy Premier Sentenced
TEHRAN (Reuters) — A revolutionary Islamic court sentenced former Deputy Premier Abbas Amir Entezam to life imprisonment, the Paris news agency reported Wednesday.

Mr. Entezam, 47, was convicted of collaborating with the United States and the CIA. He was deputy premier in Iran's first post-revolutionary government, headed by former Premier Mehdi Bazargan.



SUZUKI IN EUROPE — Japanese Premier Zenko Suzuki and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt emerge from a round of talks at Hamburg's senate guest house. They were joined in their talks on trade and other issues Wednesday by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Sunao Sonoda, left, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, center. In Tokyo, meanwhile, an accord was reached limiting growth of Japanese exports of automobiles to West Germany. Details on Page 9.

New-Look Ireland Goes to the Polls After Old-Style Campaign

United States, have prospered despite the world recession, but the traditional textile industry has been hit hard.

Farmers, enriched by European agricultural prices and special benefits since Ireland joined the EEC in 1973, have recently found expenses increasing faster than income. Those who went too far into debt buying new homes, cars, equipment and land in the mid-1970s now have to economize.

Unemployment has increased significantly despite the creation of tens of thousands of new jobs each year, because young people are staying instead of emigrating and emigrants are returning. A high birth rate has meant that half the population is under 25.

In contrast with the smartly dressed, confident-looking young people who fill the new offices,

factories and housing subdivisions of Dublin and suburbs, where a third of the population now lives, are the idle youths left behind in inner-city slums and public housing. They are blamed for a rapidly increasing number of robberies, burglaries and attacks on police.

Similar Planks
In other social changes, many more women are entering the labor market and running for public office. Pressure is steadily increasing for liberalization of restrictive laws on divorce, abortion and the sale of contraceptives, as well as for a general reduction of the influence of the Catholic Church.

There are no real ideological differences between the major political parties on these issues. Fianna Fail and Fine Gael are both rooted in the nationalist movement that

produced Irish independence 60 years ago, and both support continued expansion of the private economy with extensive government aid.

Voters must choose instead on the differing styles and approaches of the party leaders. Premier Charles Haughey and the opposition leader, Garret FitzGerald. The small Labor Party would be involved in government only as a coalition partner with Fine Gael if neither of the main parties wins a majority in the Dail on Thursday.

Mr. Haughey is a populist who has campaigned on Fianna Fail's record as the governing party for all but 10 years since 1932, and also on his personal identification with nationalism.

The wealthy son-in-law of the late Premier Sean Lemass, Mr. Haughey held several Cabinet po-

sitions before ousting Jack Lynch as party leader and premier in December, 1979. As premier, Mr. Haughey is best known for his efforts to negotiate a closer Irish-British relationship in talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain. He maintains that the process could lead to a solution of the Northern Ireland problem.

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Struggle Splits Urgent Session Of Polish Party

Warsaw — The Polish Communist Party's Central Committee Wednesday rejected a proposal that it cast a vote of confidence on each member of the ruling 11-man Politburo.

The PAP news agency said the proposal, put forward by party leader Stanislaw Kania, was turned down by the 140 voting members of the committee.

The emergency session of the Central Committee erupted Wednesday into an open power struggle, with moderates and hard-liners battling to expel each other from the Politburo. An official source said it was not clear how the meeting would end following the vote against Mr. Kania's proposal.

According to the proposal, any member receiving less than 50 percent of the votes would "no longer fulfill his functions on the Politburo," the Polish news agency reported.

Response to Letter
The voting would have been crucial in determining whether the party leadership would continue, and perhaps accelerate, a policy of accepting liberalization in Poland, or would turn to a more rigid rule under pressure from the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee meeting was convened to grapple with a letter from the Soviet Central Committee indicating that Moscow had lost confidence in Mr. Kania's leadership and warning that the party must move quickly against trends construed by the Kremlin as counterrevolutionary.

Tadeusz Grabski, considered a hard-liner, accused Mr. Kania of being incapable of solving the Polish crisis and indirectly urged him to resign.

"The Politburo for some months has not been a consolidated, cohesive leading team," Mr. Grabski told the committee. In remarks reported by the news agency, Mr.

Grabski declared that the Politburo "in its present composition and under the leadership of Kania is unable to lead the country out of the crisis."

Despite a plea for moderation by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the general tone of the debates as reported by the agency appeared to be going in favor of hard-liners.

Poland's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Kazimierz Olaszewski, said the world was tired of Polish anarchy. "If we do not solve the crisis by ourselves, and our friends want to believe that we can do it, a national disaster can take place and it will be difficult to recover from it," he said.

The news agency said committee members stamped their feet when Mr. Rakowski, the government's chief negotiator with the trade unions, spoke. He replied to the protest: "Comrades, you cannot

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China Says U.S. Names Hummel
PEKING — China announced Wednesday it has approved the appointment of Arthur W. Hummel Jr., the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, to become the next ambassador to Peking.

The U.S. Embassy in Peking declined comment and there was not yet any announcement by the Reagan administration.

Mr. Hummel, 61, who was born in China and speaks Chinese, is a career diplomat. The ambassador's post in Peking has been vacant since Leonard Woodcock, the former United Auto Workers president, was appointed by President Jimmy Carter, left in February.

China Seen Flexible on U.S.-Taiwan Arms

Washington Post Service
PEKING — Despite official statements strongly opposing U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, China's leaders are expected to take a more flexible stance during next week's visit here by Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., Chinese sources say.

Sources close to China's makers of foreign policy said Tuesday that Peking was ready to tolerate continued U.S. weapons sales to Taipei so long as they did not exceed the sophistication or volume

of arms currently sold by Washington to the Nationalist government, valued at between \$700 million and \$800 million per year.

China would respond adversely, however, if Washington decided to sell new offensive weapons, such as fighter planes, which could strengthen the resolve of Taiwanese officials to resist Peking's recent diplomatic efforts to bring about a peaceful reunification of the island and the mainland, the sources said.

Since the Reagan administration took office, China has consistently

criticized U.S. arms sales to Taiwan as interference in Chinese domestic affairs and a violation of the 1979 U.S.-Chinese normalization treaty, recognizing Peking as the sole legal government of China.

Without publicly defining what it considers to be acceptable levels or kinds of arms sales, Peking repeatedly has warned it would make a "strong response" if the United States continued to sell weapons to Taiwan, especially the improved jet fighter Taipei is seeking.

Diplomats in Peking said the more tolerant views privately expressed Tuesday by the Chinese sources suggested that the nation's top policy-makers might still be debating how best to resolve the issue, which is certain to be a major item of the Haig visit, which begins Sunday.

The diplomats emphasized, however, that this view seems to be less dominant than the hard-line positions stamped out in official statements, including a Foreign Ministry comment issued Tuesday that again threatened unspecified reprisals if Washington continued its arms sales "in defiance of our repeated, vigorous opposition."

A Chinese source expressing the more accommodating line explained it as a "realistic approach" to the question, considering the pressures on President Reagan from the pro-Taiwan wing of the Republican Party and his campaign commitment to upgrade relations with the island government.

Last week, in a move intended to demonstrate accommodation on the U.S. part, the administration decided to allow China to buy defense-related technology from the United States. The Chinese source said that was a positive development for bilateral relations, but

should not be seen as a way to appease China so that Washington can sell new weapons to Taiwan.

In its statement Tuesday, the Foreign Ministry said "that China would rather not buy any U.S. weapons than agree to the continuation of U.S. interference in China's internal affairs by selling weapons to Taiwan."

The source describing the more flexible posture noted, however, that China has tolerated U.S. arms sales to Taipei since Peking and Washington normalized relations. If sales remain similar to those since normalization, he said, he believes Chinese leaders would be willing to accept that status.

"If we wouldn't accept these sales," he asked, "how could there have been normalization between China and the United States?"

In the normalization agreement, the United States recognized Taiwan as a part of China but insisted on the right to maintain unofficial relations with the island, which the United States had for 30 years recognized as the true government of China.

Early this year China downgraded its diplomatic relations with the Netherlands in reprisal for a Dutch agreement to sell two submarines to Taipei.

Senate Asked to Ratify Pact
WASHINGTON (UPI) — The administration has asked the Senate to ratify a consular convention between the United States and China signed last September.

The agreement allows the United States to add three consulates to the two it operates in Shanghai and Canton. The new consulates will be in Mukden, Wuhan and Chengdu. China has consulates in Houston and San Francisco and hopes to open missions in New York, Honolulu and Chicago.

Iraq Raid Complicates U.S. Nuclear Policy

By Judith Miller
New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — Israel's decision to destroy an Iraqi nuclear reactor has introduced a new complication into the Reagan administration's effort to formulate a policy intended to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Several members of Congress said Tuesday, however, that they believed that the Israeli strike would set back the review, and would increase pressure on the administration to tighten restrictions and step up international efforts to stem the flow of nuclear fuel and sophisticated equipment.

As part of that approach, the Carter administration tried to encourage the development of an alternative to highly enriched uranium, which a country could directly divert for use in a weapon before the fuel was placed in a research reactor. It also attempted to halt the stockpiling of plutonium and the spread of reprocessing technology that would permit nations to develop their own supply of nuclear weapons material.

A report by the Reagan administration's transition team endorsed the reprocessing of plutonium in "reliable" countries, recommending specifically that Japan and West European nations be permitted to reprocess spent nuclear fuel to ease their oil-importing needs. The "timely warning" concept was given less significance than under the Carter policy, in part because other nuclear exporters had resisted U.S. standards.

Air Show Participants Assess Iraq Raid

By Axel Krause
International Herald Tribune
LE BOURGET, France — Putting aside political considerations, leaders from the West's aerospace industries expressed satisfaction over the technological success of the Israeli raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor on Sunday.

The official, whose company generates considerable military and civilian business throughout the Middle East, was expressing widespread, but by no means unanimous, reaction to the raid among private and government industry officials gathered for the Paris air show being held at Le Bourget airport.

Discussions are under way for export sales of Israel's Kfir C-2 multirole combat airplane, which is in production and is powered by engines made by General Electric of the United States, the IAI official said.

Some aerospace observers said during interviews on Wednesday, however, that they were puzzled at why the Israeli Air Force apparently used all-U.S. combat aircraft and technology during the raid instead of their Kfir planes.

World News Briefs

Rival Afghan Factions Reported in Gunfight
NEW DELHI — A gunfight between rival factions of Afghanistan's ruling Marxist party broke out last week in the Kabul Peoples' Palace, a Western diplomatic source said Wednesday.

Schmidt Charges Russians on Bilateral Pledge
BONN — Chancellor Helmut Schmidt accused the Soviet Union in an interview published Wednesday of violating a joint West German-Soviet pledge on military parity in favor of a nuclear missile buildup in Europe.

Syrian Stand on Missiles May Be Hardening
BEIRUT — U.S. Envoy Philip Habib met with Lebanese officials for a second day Wednesday amid signs that Syria's position has hardened in the missile crisis because of the Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor.

Belgian Coalition Partners Drop Challenge
BRUSSELS — The French-speaking Socialist Party said Wednesday that it will drop a challenge to the center-left government of Premier Mark Eyskens on the issue of Belgium's linguistic division.

Power Struggle Divides Party Meeting in Poland

(Continued from Page 1)
stamp away reality. Stomping will resolve no problem.

PAP said another Politburo member, Kazimierz Barcikowski, said Mr. Kania's proposals in his speech Tuesday "are the best political line for Poland and the party and are by no means a capitulation line."

Mr. Kania promised in his speech to rein in the independent labor movement Solidarity and reformers within his party, but also to pursue reforms.

A copy of the letter from the Soviet Central Committee published by the Paris newspaper Le Monde cited Mr. Kania and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski by name, indicating that the Russians might be trying to get them replaced.

Thai Minister Quits; Cabinet Reshuffle Seen

(United Press International)
BANGKOK — Interior Minister Prathuang Kiratituntorn resigned Wednesday, delivering a blow to Premier Prem Tinsulanonda's shaky coalition government.

Mr. Prathuang, 59, had come under attack in parliament for the failure of the police to solve several terrorist bombings.

Political analysts said Mr. Prathuang's resignation would force Gen. Prem to reshuffle his Cabinet for the second time this year. The first reshuffle, in March, was sparked by a public scandal over the purchase of crude oil from Saudi Arabia.

Iraq Expected to Retaliate for Attack; Arab-Israeli War Seen as a Possibility

By Drew Middleton
New York Times Service
NEW YORK — Iraq's options for effective retaliation to the Israeli raid on its nuclear reactor near Baghdad appear extremely limited. But United States and NATO military analysts, as well as some Arab military sources, believe that Iraq is unlikely to accept the humiliation of the attack without attempting some form of reprisal.

The possibility that reprisal action might lead to another Arab-Israeli war is a major source of concern. A related issue is whether the Israelis intend to establish a nuclear monopoly in the Middle East.

Most analysts are certain that Israel has a store of nuclear devices and the means, either by bomber or missile, to deliver them. As the analysts see it, the question is whether Israel will be prepared to tolerate the installation of nuclear reactors by any Arab country if its intelligence services suspect that the Arab country might be making nuclear weapons.

Israel Steps Up Defenses

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ed the Labor Party leader's opposition to a bombing raid on Iraq anytime. "I speak from experience, and there are others who think the same way as I do. Israel would become isolated and lay herself open to similar attacks," Mr. Peres is quoted as saying in the letter.

Candidates of all political parties running in the June 30 national election have supported the principle of overwhelming Israeli public acceptance of the mission.

Arabs Ask F-16 Ban
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (AP) — The Arab League Wednesday called on the United States to withhold delivery of four F-16s to Israel as a sign of goodwill toward the Arab world.

Live Bomb Still at Reactor, Expert Says

The Associated Press
PARIS — Technicians were unable to assess damage to Iraq's nuclear reactor because one of the bombs dropped by Israeli jets did not explode, a French technician who worked at the plant said upon arrival here Wednesday.

The technician, Jacques Rimbaud, said that the French-built plant outside Baghdad appeared to be damaged beyond repair and would have to be rebuilt from scratch. He said that to his knowledge there was no escape of radioactivity.

Mr. Rimbaud, who witnessed Sunday's attack from a nearby cafe, said he saw only four of the Israeli jets.

Police Kill 10 in India

NEW DELHI — At least 10 people were killed on Tuesday when the police in a village in southern India fired on supporters of rival candidates for the village council, the United News of India reported.

work and left the reactor site. A Frenchman, Damien Chaussepied, 25, was killed. Israeli officials said no more than three persons were killed, but they did not elaborate.

Another technician, Jean Francois Mascioli, said he ran to a sandbag shelter outside his house when the raid started.

Tennessee Jury Convicts Ex-Governor, Aides

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — A former Tennessee governor, Ray Blanton, has been convicted in Federal District Court of extortion, conspiracy and mail fraud in the sale of liquor licenses during his administration.

Mr. Blanton, 51, could face a maximum of 70 years in prison and a \$29,000 fine.

Earlier Tuesday the same jury found James M. Allen, 52, an automobile dealer in Johnson City, Tenn., who was Mr. Blanton's campaign manager in 1974, and Clyde Edd Hood Jr., a Nashville businessman who was a special assistant to Mr. Blanton from 1975 to 1977, guilty of conspiracy and mail fraud.



President Reagan and President Jose Lopez Portillo after the Mexican leader offered a toast at a White House luncheon.

U.S., Mexico Agree To Keep On Talking

By Juan M. Vasquez
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Reagan and President Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico ended two days of talks Tuesday with an agreement to establish bilateral commissions on trade and political issues and to keep talking about an emerging U.S. development plan for the Caribbean basin.

Regarding the other major topics discussed during the meetings in Washington and at Camp David — trade, commercial fishing and immigration from Mexico — there was apparently much friendly talk, but no specifics were nailed down.

Mr. Castañeda agreed with Reagan administration officials who had told reporters at the White House that the atmosphere of the talks was unusually warm and cordial, but he was more candid about areas of disagreement.

On the question of U.S. and Mexican policy toward El Salvador, an area with the greatest potential for discord, U.S. officials said only that there was no specific political discussion of El Salvador.

Mr. Castañeda said that Mr. Lopez Portillo reiterated the Mexican view that the crisis was due to internal causes rather than Communist subversion, and that the violence was born of the fact that "the people are expressing their wishes in the only way they can."

He added that military aid to the governing junta — aid which the United States is supplying — "only postpones the solution to the problem."

Mr. Reagan disclosed that he received a formal invitation to attend the North-South conference that Mexico is hosting in October and that he accepted. Cuba has not been invited and the Soviet Union has declined to attend. Mr. Reagan's attendance is seen by Mexico as a guarantee that the meeting of industrialized and Third World nations will be a success.

Exploring the Issue
Expressing traditional Mexican reluctance to become engaged in any regional effort that would give the appearance that Mexico is a political agent of the United States, Mr. Castañeda added:

"The fact is that if certain arrangements are not taken beforehand, [the plan] might be more dangerous than beneficial."

He characterized as an exaggeration a reporter's suggestion that Mexico had agreed in principle to the plan. "The only thing we agreed to was to keep exploring the issue," he said.

Correction

A dispatch from The Washington Post published in the International Herald Tribune June 9, quoted President Jose Lopez Portillo as saying that Mexico and the United States were "immersed in a regional contest that shades our relationship." The quotation should have said that the two countries are immersed in a regional "contest."

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Forlani Gives Up Efforts To Form New Government

ROME — The caretaker premier, Arnaldo Forlani, who is still plagued by the Masonic lodge scandal that toppled his previous government, gave up Wednesday on trying to form Italy's 41st post-war government.

IRA Murder Suspects Escape Jail in Belfast

BELFAST — Eight suspected Irish Republican Army guerrillas who have been charged with murder escaped from a jail in Belfast on Wednesday and fled in waiting cars to a Roman Catholic district of the city, the Northern Ireland Office reported.

35 Squatters Arrested in W. Berlin Fighting

BERLIN — Police detained 35 persons during overnight street clashes with squatters in West Berlin, a spokesman said Wednesday.

Irish Vote After Traditional Campaign

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fair for statistics, presenting a detailed plan for expanding the economy. Mr. FitzGerald is a genial, burly man, as approachable and talkative as Mr. Haughey is aloof and close-mouthed.

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IRA Murder Suspects Escape Jail in Belfast

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Irish Vote After Traditional Campaign

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Police Kill 10 in India

NEW DELHI — At least 10 people were killed on Tuesday when the police in a village in southern India fired on supporters of rival candidates for the village council, the United News of India reported.

Tennessee Jury Convicts Ex-Governor, Aides

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — A former Tennessee governor, Ray Blanton, has been convicted in Federal District Court of extortion, conspiracy and mail fraud in the sale of liquor licenses during his administration.

Irish Vote After Traditional Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)
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U.S. Plans To Delimit Butter Sale

Curbs Would Bar Resale to Russia

By Lou Cannon and Lee Lescaze
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration intends to sell surplus butter to foreign countries under specific restrictions that none of it be resold to the Soviet Union, according to White House sources.

The sources said that Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. had convinced President Reagan and his top advisers that it would be "sending the wrong signal" to sell butter to the Soviet Union along with the grain from the recent lifting of the U.S. embargo.

Mr. Haig's intervention, first in a telephone call to White House counselor Edwin Meece 3d and then in an appeal at last week's Cabinet meeting, blocked a plan of Agriculture Department officials to dispose of the rapidly mounting butter surplus on the world market, where its most certain destination would be the Soviet Union and Eastern-bloc countries.

A White House source who is not usually considered a booster of Mr. Haig described the secretary of state's Cabinet comments as "eloquent and convincing."

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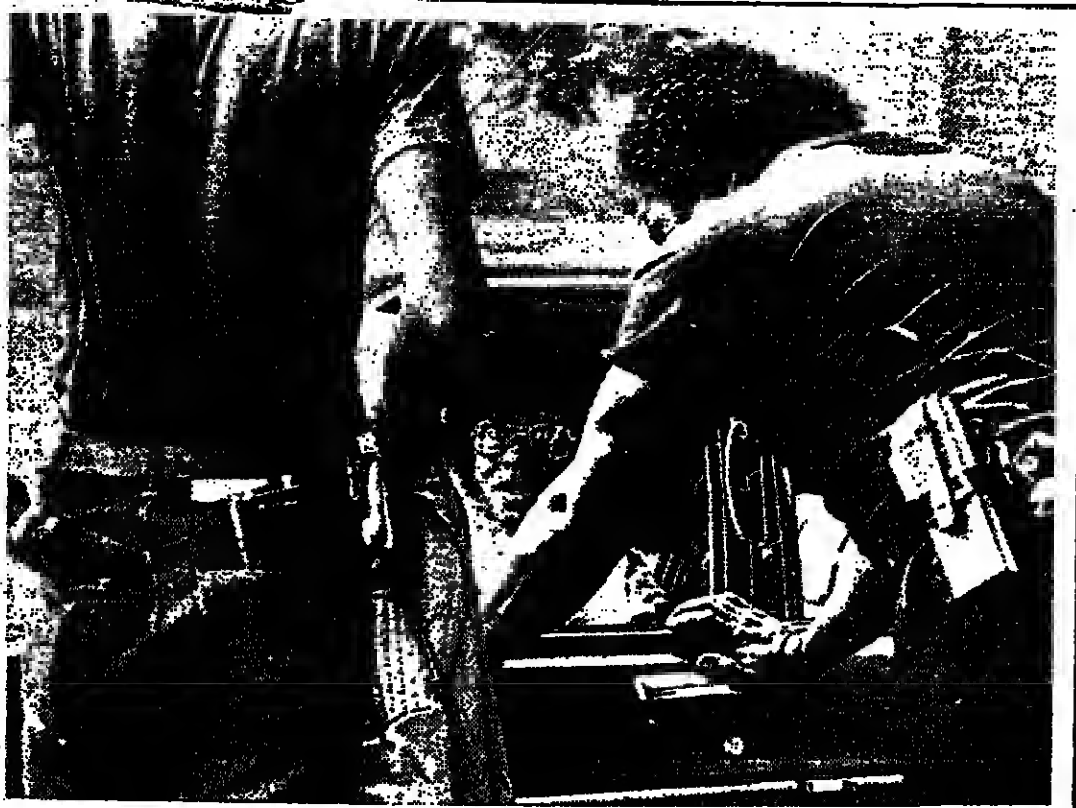
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INVESTIGATION CONTINUES — Wayne B. Williams chatted with police in his driveway despite the fact that he has become a focus of the investigation into the mysterious deaths of 28 young persons in Atlanta. Mr. Williams, 22, is a free-lance photographer.

Senate Panel Approves Bill to Restore Death Penalty for Some Federal Crimes

By Stuart Taylor Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved a bill designed to resurrect the death penalty for federal crimes such as treason, espionage and presidential assassinations.

The 13-5 vote came after a half hour of discussion, taken up primarily by adoption of technical amendments and an amendment by Sen. Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina Republican who chairs the panel, to make attempted assassination of the president punishable by death.

Sen. Thurmond said after the vote that the death penalty bill was needed "because of the tremendous increase in crime in this country," particularly homicides.

But both the death penalty bill and the attempted assassination provision were denounced after the vote as "clearly unconstitutional" by David Landau, a Washington lobbyist for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The purpose of the bill is to overcome legal obstacles to imposing the death penalty by establishing sentencing procedures designed to meet the constitutional requirements laid down in Supreme Court rulings since the 1972 decision.

Lowell Jensen, chief of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, said that the administration supports the objectives of the bill and believes that it "would pass constitutional muster."

Sen. Thurmond predicted after Tuesday's vote that the bill would pass the Senate and that the 60 votes necessary to overcome a filibuster expected from opponents of the bill would be obtained.

Prospects in the House are much more doubtful, however, because of opposition by influential members of the Democratic majority of the House Judiciary Committee.

Rep. Don Edwards, the California Democrat who led the opposition to the amendment, said, "They can put these amendments in all day and get them approved." He added, "No one likes busing very much."

The amendment was attached to a bill authorizing funds for the Department of Justice. Similar language is also likely to gain approval in the Senate, which is under Republican control, and eventually become law.

According to Mr. Edwards, the change adopted Tuesday is "very important," because federal education officials are already barred from pursuing desegregation cases through administrative procedures.

That leaves the Justice Department as the only governmental agency now free to fight segregation in public schools.

However, the Collins amendment does not prohibit private individuals or groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from bringing desegregation cases. Nor would it disturb existing busing plans.

The role of the Justice Department is somewhat moot at the moment, since Attorney General William French Smith has said that the Reagan administration will not ask the courts to impose busing plans as a way of desegregating schools.

But Tuesday's vote could foreshadow the congressional mood on future fights over busing, and other so-called "social issues," including abortion and school prayer.

Opponents of busing are gathering signatures on a petition that could force the House to vote on a proposed constitutional amendment to ban busing entirely.

Hearings have already been held on other bills that would limit the jurisdiction of federal courts to deal with certain issues.

5 in N.Y. Police Held in Bribery
NEW YORK — Five New York City police officers were indicted Tuesday on charges that they hired themselves out to protect from arrest a man they believed was a drug dealer.

The alleged dealer was an undercover police officer known as Arturo who was taking part in an investigation of suspected police corruption, according to Thomas A. Duffy Jr., the state's special prosecutor. Mr. Duffy said that the officers had been paid \$200 to \$250 each time they escorted Arturo on his rounds.

The officers were charged with bribe-taking and criminal facilitation. The indictments said that the accused officers escorted the undercover officer while he was in the possession of and as he delivered and sold quantities of cocaine.

Waldheim, Huang Meet
PEKING — United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim arrived Wednesday in Peking and held his first round of talks with Foreign Minister Huang Hua on the Cambodian conflict.

South: The facts behind Third World news.
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Democrats Switch to Mid-Income Tax Cuts

By Art Pine
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee have abandoned their earlier endorsement of Reagan-style across-the-board tax cuts and will propose reductions for middle-income groups.

Their change of heart in a closed caucus Tuesday destroyed any remaining hope of a compromise with the White House and set the stage for an all-out floor battle.

The Democrats earlier had endorsed a two-year version of President Reagan's tax-cut plan calling for a 5 percent decline over October to be followed by a 10 percent cut in mid-1982, with tax rates reduced by the same proportion in all brackets.

However, Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, Democratic of Illinois, told reporters that his committee's earlier action had been only to facilitate a compromise and no longer is binding now that the White House has decided to put together its own coalition bill.

Rep. Rostenkowski said the Democrats have abandoned across-the-board cuts and will draft a bill that tilts more of the tax relief for individuals in the \$10,000-to-\$50,000 range, a traditional Democratic constituency.

Wider Tax Brackets
There was no indication of how the Democrats plan to tilt their tax cut to middle-income workers. The technique most often mentioned is simply to widen tax brackets in the low and middle incomes.

The reversal came as Mr. Reagan's adherents introduced their so-called bipartisan version of his bill, with new concessions to business, which in effect gave back part of the benefits taken away last week.

At the same time, spokesmen for major industry groups said they would continue to endorse the Reagan administration's economic program.

On Tuesday, after angry remarks from business groups, the White House announced that it has restored much of the business tax relief. The changes the administration proposed Tuesday would speed the timetable by which depreciation for equipment purchases is phased into the tax code.

Reagan Woes Southerners
The Democrats had hoped last month to strike a compromise with the administration, but Mr. Reagan ended such prospects last week by abruptly abandoning negotiations and attempting to strike a bargain with conservative Southern Democrats. He forged a similar coalition in a crucial budget battle earlier this year.

Since the tax-bill compromise talks broke down last week, House leaders have come under pressure from liberals and moderates, who argue that now the party should push for a traditionally Democratic bill. They contend that the tax cuts Mr. Reagan is proposing would primarily benefit upper-middle and upper incomes, for whom across-the-board cuts in rates would mean more in savings.

The administration's bill, introduced Tuesday, was sponsored jointly by Rep. Barber B. Conable of New York, the ranking Republican on Ways and Means, and Rep. Kent Hance, of Texas, a conservative Democrat.

Administration Tax Bill Could Exempt Overseas Income of \$75,000, Housing
By Robert C. Siner
International Herald Tribune
WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration's tax-cut proposal introduced in Congress would allow exclusion of the first \$50,000 in income earned abroad by Americans, plus further benefits that could exclude as much as \$75,000 in salary.

In addition, the administration bill introduced Tuesday would grant a tax deduction on foreign housing that costs more than \$5,000 a year. The proposed overseas tax benefits are incorporated from a proposal put forward in February by Republican Sen. John Chafee of Rhode Island.

The bill could allow up to \$75,000 in earned income exclusion from U.S. taxation by exempting the first \$50,000 of earned income plus 50 percent of the next \$50,000. It would apply to Americans who reside abroad for 11 of 12 months who pay foreign income taxes on the excluded amount.

Frenzel Measure
It was estimated that the Chafee bill would shield 85 to 90 percent of overseas Americans from U.S. taxation.

Meantime, Republican Rep. Bill Frenzel of Minnesota is preparing to introduce a revised version of his proposal to totally exclude earned income of U.S. citizens abroad from U.S. income taxes, including new provisions aimed at allaying the fears of many members of Congress that a total exclusion would be used by some high-income individuals as a vehicle for tax evasion.

The revised Frenzel bill, which an aide said would be introduced soon, would set up a two-tier system of taxation for the earned income of Americans abroad. For U.S. citizens overseas 17 of 18 months it incorporates a proposal put forward by Texas Reps. Bill Archer, a Republican, and J.J. Pickle, a Democrat, which allows a \$75,000 earned-income exclusion (rising to \$95,000 in \$5,000 increments by 1985) and a deduction

for housing costs in excess of \$5,000. Americans abroad more than 18 months would be liable only for those taxes in their country of residence. The measure would allow the Internal Revenue Service to review the returns of the top 10 percent of wage earners abroad to determine whether they were claiming overseas residence merely to evade U.S. taxes.

If this were found to be the case their status as residents abroad could be revoked. However, Americans living in underdeveloped countries and those in countries whose income-tax rate is at least 80 percent that of the United States would not be subject to this review.

In his revised bill, Rep. Frenzel has completely the term "total exclusion" in favor of "residence-based taxation" even though the end result may be the same.

According to sources involved in drafting the proposal, taxation based on residence was politically much easier to explain and defend than a total exclusion.

The tax-writing committees in both houses begin action on the tax-cut bills this week and hope to finish by July. Most observers agree that the Archer-Pickle measure in the Ways and Means Committee and the Chafee-administration proposal in the Senate Finance Committee are now heavy favorites, although they believe a new Frenzel measure has a chance.

Robert Angarola of American Citizens Abroad said he found the administration proposal disappointing.

Andrew Sundberg, chairman of Democrats Abroad, said he is encouraged by a positive movement toward meeting the needs of Americans abroad. "This is a grass roots issue," he said, "and if the Congress doesn't hear from us we are going to be crowded out by the weeds."

Lois Shepard, head of Republicans Abroad, said her group supports the Frenzel bill and is optimistic about its chances.

U.S. Safety Panel Blames Air Crew In Plunge of TWA Jet in Michigan
WASHINGTON — The National Transportation Safety Board has concluded that actions by the crew, not mechanical problems, caused the double barrel roll and harrowing 6-mile plunge of a TWA Boeing 727 over Saginaw, Mich., on April 4, 1979.

Following the decision Tuesday, the pilots involved accused the board of skewing facts to fit its theory of what happened.

After plunging for nearly a minute at supersonic speeds, Capt. Harvey Gibson regained control by extending the landing gear just 4,800 feet from the ground. Eight of the 89 persons on board were injured.

"I can't believe this is happening," Capt. Gibson said after the board voted, 2-1, to accept a staff conclusion that extension of a wing slat by the crew caused the plane to roll to the right, starting the uncontrolled maneuver. "People have completely disregarded everything we've said. How can they do this?" Co-pilot J. Scott Kennedy called the verdict "absolutely ridiculous."

The board concluded the wing slat could not have been extended as a result of mechanical failure, although the crew members testified they did not touch it.

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VALUETOLL

Reagan Aides Tighten Up on Press Links

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration, in an effort to shut off leaks and ensure that the government speaks with one voice on national security matters, has adopted a press relations policy that appears to be considerably more restrictive than those of previous administrations.

The CIA, which in recent years occasionally provided unclassified background briefings to reporters on request on a variety of subjects from oil to Afghanistan, has now ended that policy on orders from new director, William J. Casey.

The top-level National Security Council staff in the White House, including dozens of specialists who also frequently provided background information on military and foreign policy subjects in previous administrations, is now off limits to reporters on orders of the president's national security adviser, Richard V. Allen.

Unproductive Briefings
At the State and Defense departments, many career officials still welcome reporters to their offices on an informal basis. And there are still occasional background briefings to provide a fuller account of administration views on issues in which the officials doing the briefing cannot be identified by name.

But in those two agencies, other important information sources have gone dry. These are the daily public briefings by department spokesmen where reporters have one of the few chances to get the administration to explain policies on the record.

By the account of many experienced reporters, these regular briefings at both departments are at their least productive point in many years in the information they yield or the opportunities to extract more than what amounts to a daily government press release.

At the State Department, spokesman Dean Fischer, a former newspaperman, arrives at the briefing with a sheaf of papers each day containing official department "guidance" that is prepared by senior specialists on a variety of subjects. When a question is asked for which he has guidance, he turns to that sheet in his folder and reads it. Nothing more is divulged.

Asked if the narrow scope of his guidance, which keeps him from being informative, bothers him, Mr. Fischer said: "The most difficult part of my job is to stand up there and say virtually nothing, particularly about the Middle East. But that's not a complaint about the guidance because I fully understand the reasons for it."

Pentagon Issue
Those reasons, he says, are to avoid anything that could jeopardize U.S. diplomatic efforts.

The tone for Pentagon information policy appeared to be set by spokesman Henry E. Catto Jr. during his first formal briefing May 19 when he told reporters there would no longer be any detailed accounting of U.S. and Soviet naval power in the Mediterranean, information that was routinely given out by previous administrations, even in a crisis.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Swiss to Curtail Diplomatic Spies
BERN — The Swiss government said Wednesday that it has strengthened its anti-espionage service to keep a closer watch on diplomatic spies, and that tougher steps would be taken against them in the future.

The announcement was made in reply to a questioner in the Federal Assembly who said foreign diplomatic missions here are on target.

The government said its aim is to see that missions in Bern are kept at a size commensurate with the scope of relations between Switzerland and each mission's country.

Information Control
The combination of these factors — the shutoff of access to CIA and National Security Council experts, the intimidating tone used toward the bureaucracy and the low information content of public briefings at the State and Defense departments — may seem within the Reagan administration to have advantages in terms of controlling information flow.

It also may be convenient for an administration that has not formed policies on such key issues as relations with the Soviet Union and arms control or, for that matter, has not had a major public speech by the president describing his foreign policy.

For reporters and newspaper readers, however, the effect is a thinner explanation of the reasons certain things are happening in foreign policy, military and national security affairs and what alternatives are being considered or have been overlooked.

There is also a potentially serious loss of accountability to the public when spokesmen for two agencies that deal with matters of national life and death are unable to explain the actions of their leaders.

Countdown for Kania

The trap has just about snapped shut on Stanislaw Kania, and unless the Polish Communist Party leader turns out to be an escape artist in Houdini's league, his remaining days in power are few. Mr. Kania is caught between the steadily building pressure for reform first released by the strikes in Gdansk last August, and the Soviet Union, which is fast approaching its choke point. He cannot deny the reformers without risking an uprising nor can he further provoke the Russians without risking an invasion. His response to a long and implicitly threatening letter from the Soviet Communist Party illustrates the dilemma.

Mr. Kania said that Poland had reached "one of the most dramatic moments in the country's 1,000-year history." He then told the Russians exactly what they wanted to hear in a point-by-point endorsement of their harshly phrased letter. But virtually in the same breath, he told the Poles that the reforms for which they have been struggling will continue. Mr. Kania must know he can't have it both ways. The Soviet Union might crank up its rhetoric one more notch before acting, but that's the limit. The next step will be to replace the Polish leadership.

The free trade union Solidarity also seems to recognize that this is a highly charged moment. After the Soviet letter to the Polish

Central Committee, Solidarity canceled a two-hour protest strike. But events are moving swiftly toward the July 14 Communist Party Congress, which for the first time in any Eastern European country will be attended by democratically elected delegates — if it is held.

Because that congress threatens to undermine the essential structure of the party, the foundation of any Communist state, Moscow might already have concluded that this is its final opportunity to prevent Poland from slipping out of the Soviet camp. Others such as Yugoslavia, China and Albania have wrenched free before, but Poland, because it is so close to home, is an especially egregious case for the Russians. It is also an egregious case for the United States and its allies because Poland is and has always been a Westward-looking country.

The time for preventing the Polish crisis from becoming the Polish disaster is rapidly ebbing. It is time for direct communication between Soviet and Western leaders. The decision on whether to invade Poland will be made in the Kremlin, but President Leonid Brezhnev and his septuagenarian colleagues must not be allowed to decide without a full understanding of how grave the consequences of an invasion would be.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

Getting Serious About Bombs

Maybe the trouble is the term. "Nuclear nonproliferation" is a mind-numbing agent, an eye-glazing property, a bore. Ask anyone. Or, better yet, try to get anyone who is in office and on a busy track, either in the U.S. government or those of its dearest friends and allies, to talk about it. Then you will find out: There are — always have been — other more pressing matters; and besides, to try to hold back the inevitable is stupid; and anyhow, to irritate Country X or Country Y on such a hopeless, long-term issue would be a real time-waster, even an act of irresponsibility when we have so much more urgent, high-stakes business to negotiate with them; and how can we ask other countries to forgo the nuclear option while we and the Russians continue our own nuclear arms buildup — how arrogant can you get? — and, in truth, it's just a little research reactor Country Y is building for Country Z (don't ask about the weapons-grade fuel this reactor will use, it would be rude) and, and ... and ...

And what? And this: It all adds up to Sunday's raid by the Israelis on the French- and Italian-built Iraqi nuclear installation near Baghdad, the very model of the kind of panic-generated first-strike action that the literature warning against the spread of nuclear weapons has always foreseen as the predictable result. The introduction of nuclear weapons in conflict-ridden regions, even the strong suspicion that they are about to be introduced, will function as an incentive to such an action by those with the means to act. We all got off relatively easy this time. Yes, people were killed and danger was courted and the prospectively harmful consequences of the raid have not all been felt. But it was a pale version of what can yet come when installations that are further advanced (say after the fuel has been emplaced, not right before) are determined to be mortal threats by some country's neighbor that may or may not itself have some kind of nuclear weapons potential.

The Carter administration can be faulted for an on-again, off-again uneven effort in this field. Its commitment to discourage the spread of nuclear weapons around the world never enjoyed the degree of administration-wide support that could have made it at once smoother and less prone to swings between overstatement and negligence — in short, more consistent and effective. And it ended with the dismal decision to resupply the Indian reactor at Tarapur despite India's refusal to renounce use of U.S. exports for future nuclear bombs. But even with all those failings, it began as a right policy that represented a right instinct; it had some notable successes, and the people who have subsequently been deciding it as one of the Carter government's exercises in amateurism and futility need to understand that they are really making a bad joke. The cynical, worldly-wise, what-the-hell alternative that has gained such currency in Washington since then represents, in our view, the truly disastrous choice.

If you explore the upper reaches of the Reagan administration on the question of

commitment and action designed to stop or even to impede the spread of nuclear weapons to new proprietors, you will find first that there is deep disagreement concerning both the priority of the worry and the possibility of doing much about it. A lot of the objections are familiar and have some plausibility — but the same is not true of the conclusions drawn from them. For example, it may be true that the anti-proliferators, King Canute-like, wish to stop an inexorable trend of technology that is destined to bring nuclear weapons to ever more governments. But does this mean that we should do nothing to discourage or inhibit or slow down this trend, especially as it creates new and terrible dangers in particular regions of the world?

Just about everyone will answer no to that — but actions, ah, that's something else again. A second Reagan administration idea on this seems to be that "universalism," as it has been called (the attempt to deal with nuclear proliferation on a kind of planet-wide, blanket basis via UN treaties and so on, with one general policy approach to all) is a bummer. Why deal with Liechtenstein and Zimbabwe and Cyprus and Ireland as if they were the same place? Why deal with some of them — hardly potential bomb-builders or buyers — at all? Wouldn't a wise nuclear nonproliferation policy be discriminating and deal with those specific countries and regions and international relationships that are likely to be the cause or setting of nuclear spread? Sure it would — now, where is it?

Here you reach the heart of the matter: the temporizing and sophistry that mark the 1980s approach of the Western industrial countries in general to this subject. The French will tell you that since certain Third World countries are going to get into these things, it is better — is it not? — that they be on hand as suppliers and technicians to keep an eye out for the dangers. How was this valuable in Iraq, where an effort was clearly being made, in their presence and with their assistance, to create an installation that could easily have produced quick bombs? Likewise, where is this discriminating program of which some in the Reagan administration speak? If, as they argue, the point is to act in ways that will strengthen the sense of countries like, say, Pakistan or South Korea, that they do not need to seek an independent deterrent, where is the evidence that a conscious effort in this regard is being made?

Mr. Reagan has, among his own appointees in the State Department and high up at the Defense Department, some of the soundest and most stalwart and intelligent critics there are of the mindless export of nuclear materials and other actions that have created so much danger already. What he needs is a commitment, a policy, a determination to put the prospective spread of nuclear weapons into the national security context where it belongs. This is not some goo-goo, do-good preoccupation, some bath of idealism wallowed in by the naive of the world. Ask the Israelis, if you don't believe that. Ask the

THE WASHINGTON POST.

International Opinion

Lefever a Setback to Reagan

President Reagan has suffered his most serious political setback so far with the the withdrawal of Ernest Lefever as the nominee for assistant secretary of state for human rights. In terms of U.S. foreign policy, it is all to the good that Mr. Lefever will not be taking up this post.

There was a danger that his appointment

would have been regarded as evidence of a cynical disregard for human rights on the part of the Reagan administration.

This rebuff to the president is not a sign that his majority in Congress is suddenly breaking up. It should be interpreted rather as a warning that he has a natural majority on only a limited area of policy.

—From The Times (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

June 11, 1906

NEW YORK — A telegram from Washington states that President Roosevelt intends to withdraw from entry 40 million acres of public land in Western states containing coal, petroleum or other mineral products. This action is designed as a check on the Standard Oil Co. and to prevent the control of the fuel supply by private capital. The president wants to see a law passed vesting in the government the fee simple and title in the lands, which would be leased to individuals or corporations, but never sold. The proposal is significant as showing the radical spirit that is steadily developing in American politics.

Fifty Years Ago

June 11, 1931.

WASHINGTON — The Hoover administration is resisting pressure to reopen the debts and reparations questions, because in the judgment of the government experts, Germany can carry the present burdens for a little longer until it becomes clear whether its difficulties are due to the world depression or are more fundamental. Before considering any move that would entail the breaking down of the debt-funding agreements approved by Congress, the administration intends to be certain that Europe first wipes off its war-payers. President Hoover feels that U.S. taxpayers should not shoulder the European debt.



Jerusalem and the Bomb

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installation raises some general questions about the control of nuclear weapons, and a specific question about how the Reagan administration will react to it.

This will be the first real test of the administration's Middle East policy of building a barrier to Soviet influence in that area. And in the next couple of weeks, with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. in China, Deputy Secretary of State William Clark in South Africa and Vice President Bush in Paris, it will be interesting to know who will preside here on these questions and also on the ominous Soviet threat to Poland.

On the general question of the threat of nuclear weapons, the Israelis have put the Reagan administration in a bind. Without advance notice to Washington, and using U.S. weapons delivered to Israel for defensive purposes, they have attacked Iraq over the issue of Israel's security. This is the first time since the invention of atomic weapons that a state has insisted that it had the right to destroy in another country any atomic facility that it suspects may be developing nuclear weapons for its destruction.

So somebody in Washington has to consider, aside from Israel's understandable anxiety, the larger question of what would happen if all nations thought, like Israel, that they had the right to bomb any other nation that might be developing atomic weapons that could be used against them.

India and Pakistan have both been developing nuclear power. Should they then be free to bomb each other's atomic facilities? China is building an atomic plant, with the vast Soviet Army on its northern border; but the Russians, who could wipe it out at a stroke, have held back.

In fact, all the major nations are now living under the threat of atomic bombs — not theoretical laboratory experiments, as in Iraq, but proven Soviet atomic weapons, mounted on missiles, targeted on every major city in Europe and the United States. Likewise, U.S. atomic missiles are targeted on every city and industrial complex in the Soviet Union.

This being so, the only new thing is Israel's notion that it has the right to bomb out the opposition — and even more surprising,

that the government in Jerusalem thinks this will somehow add to its security.

Instead, it has surprised and angered the Reagan administration, which was trying to avoid more violence in the Middle East. It started the new pro-Israeli Socialist government of Francois Mitterrand in France. It may even have unified the Arab states against Israel, including Anwar Sadat in Egypt — a remarkable achievement — and it has encouraged the Russians to believe that they can now come back into the Middle East with more modern weapons as the defenders of the Arab states.

Presumably, this was not what Menachem Begin had in mind, and even in terms of the Israeli election at the end of this month it may not have been very wise. For the Arab states might very well prefer to continue their fight against Begin rather than his opposition, which would follow roughly the same Israeli policy but in less provocative terms.

Both political parties here have their own views of Prime Minister Begin, which are not exactly amiable; but they are staying out of the Israeli elections, at least publicly. They are trying to figure out what the United States should do when the Israeli bombing of Iraq comes before the Security Council of the United Nations.

They expect that the Arab states will go too far as usual, ask that Israel be "condemned," required to pay reparations to Iraq for their attack and drummed out of the United Nations for violating its charter against the use of force.

This will clearly be vetoed by the United States in the Security Council, but after the Israeli defense of its attack on Iraq the question of not only condemning Israel but of voting it out of the United Nations will almost certainly come up in September in the UN General Assembly, where the United States cannot protect Israel with its veto.

In a way, the Reagan administration is not entirely without blame in this crisis. It has encouraged the view that there is not much hope in negotiating a fair and safe compromise with its adversaries, and therefore that security lies in the development and will to use military power.

That is also Mr. Begin's view in Jerusalem. Suspicious of France's deal to get oil from Iraq in return

for atomic reactors, convinced that he cannot count on the support of the United Nations and not even on that of the United States, he acted on his own to bomb the atomic installation in Iraq.

But in the process he has produced a storm of protest in a world that fears he may have set a precedent for all nations to act on their own to bomb their opponents at will — and this has worried even the friends of Israel, and added to that country's isolation in the world community.

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Poland: A Nagging 'Heresy'

By Jas Gawronski

WARSAW — A man who worries the Soviet Union more than Lech Walesa today is 32-year-old factory clerk Zbigniew Iwanow.

The burly factory clerk has established a network at the base of the Communist Party itself, which links for the first time rank-and-file organizations demanding a more decisive say in policy-making.

But his movement violates Lenin's hallowed principle of "democratic centralism," which says that all power and decisions must flow from the top. In fact, Mr. Iwanow's "heresy" has created a shadow party that often opposes the official line and attempts to impose its view on the party's leaders.

After "the summer of Gdansk," Mr. Iwanow organized a series of strikes at his factory in Torun, northeast of Warsaw, followed by the first meetings of his reformist organization. The movement reflected disillusionment with the existing party structure, impatience with its lack of initiative and frustration at its inability to improve the economic situation of the country.

Loses Card

This set of dissidence prompted the Warsaw party leadership to expel him from the party, although he had been a member for 10 years. But in November last year his factory party branch, disregarding the directive of the central authorities, almost unanimously elected Mr. Iwanow as its secretary, making him the first local branch secretary in the Communist world without a party card.

The movement acquired national importance on April 15 when 500 of Mr. Iwanow's followers from 19 cities challenged the Polish Politburo demanding changes in the party's leadership and a say in the decision-making process.

And then in a final affront to the hierarchy, Mr. Iwanow was chosen at the end of May by his branch as its delegate to the party congress on July 14.

For the Russians, this date is a critical deadline. As it approaches, they find themselves facing two alternatives, both undesirable: to accept that Poland, at the heart of the Warsaw Pact, slides gradually toward a social democracy or to

On Taking Risks To Insure Peace

By Barry M. Blechman

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration's decision to at least explore the possibility of negotiations to limit intermediate-range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe has eased for now the tensions that had been building between the United States and the European members of NATO. These problems, which have come and gone over the years, will not be resolved by this expedient, however. There is a fundamental, if unarticulated, difference in the ways we and the Europeans look at the linked problems of avoiding war and protecting the security of the United States.

Americans tend to view a decision to go to war as a deliberate move resulting from a cold calculation of relative advantage and disadvantage. Consequently, we strive to deter war by maintaining armed forces at least comparable, and preferably superior, to those of the Soviet Union.

Fear of Defeat

Given superior Western military capabilities, we maintain, Soviet leaders would not initiate war because they would calculate that any such move would result in defeat. Some Americans carry this rationalistic perspective so far as to argue that any marginal advantage presented to the Soviet Union, such as potential to destroy U.S. land-based missiles in a first strike, could change this calculation and induce Soviet leaders, in extremis, to initiate war.

Europeans, on the other hand, see the risk of war as immune to calculations of relative outcomes. To them, war is more likely the result of events getting out of hand. Living in the shadow of Soviet military power and the memory of World War II, they seek primarily to establish political and economic relations such that situations in which Soviet leaders might seriously contemplate war would not arise. Failing that, they seek to prevent war's outbreak by making its likely cost appear as high as possible.

Perspective

To do this, they seek to make evident that any conflict in Europe would likely escalate to a central nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union. Note that they are not concerned with projections of the relative outcomes of a war; war is to be avoided in situations in which it becomes "thinkable" and to make clear just how great its absolute cost could be.

Which perspective is correct? I have to agree with the Europeans. Not that the initiation of war is

never a deliberately calculated act. When Israel pre-empted against gathering Arab armies in 1967, it correctly calculated the relative risks of action and inaction, as did President Sadat of Egypt when he initiated the 1973 war to put himself in a political position to reach a settlement with Israel.

But in the context of U.S.-Soviet confrontation, no person acting rationally could see advantage in beginning war. Regardless of projections of relative outcomes at intermediate levels of escalation, the potential ultimate risk — the utter devastation of our societies — clearly outweighs any uncertain calculation of marginal and relative gain. So long as each of the superpowers deploys thousands of nuclear weapons, assessments of this ultimate risk are not likely to change. If war should come, it would not be the result of cold calculations about the relative advantages; it would be the result of events and emotions out of control.

How, then, do we avoid war? The answer is not politically satisfying, as it involves a policy of both sticks and carrots, which is difficult to explain to the electorate.

Stand Up

Yes, the West should stand up to the Russians when they violate acceptable codes of behavior. They should be made to pay a price for acts like the occupation of Afghanistan. Yes, the United States should maintain sufficient conventional strength in Europe, and adequate theater nuclear forces, and an adequate strategic balance so that U.S. presidents have options if situations begin to escalate and so that the risk of confrontation is not trivial.

But also, as the Europeans suggest, we should hold on to a dialogue with the Russians. Western leaders should avoid gratuitous insults and intemperate remarks that only poison the atmosphere. We should not fear to enter into negotiations on mutual limits on nuclear weapons and ways to stabilize the military balance in Europe. We should be willing to reach economic agreements that give the Russians a stake in a stable international system.

It is not inconsistent to punish some kinds of Soviet behavior while rewarding others. No more inconsistent, that is, than risking nuclear war to protect the nation's security.

The writer is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He wrote this article for The Washington Post.

intervene militarily to arrest that trend.

At his home on the outskirts of Turun, Mr. Iwanow spoke about his plans.

"We want to make the Communist Party more democratic," he said. "By the creation of horizontal structures, we, the rank and file, hope to influence decisions taken at the top. Till now, we didn't have any influence on these decisions. The structure of the party has remained feudal. A small group inside the Politburo decides everything, not only in the party, but in the whole country."

Defining Role

Mr. Iwanow said he joined the Communist Party because he "considered it a worker's party. But today it is neither a worker's party nor a Communist party. Our aim is to define the role of the party, and to define its place in our social-political life. Till now, our party has not played the role of a political body, but that of a trade union, of an economic administration, of an investigative body or that of police. Instead it should be just a political party."

"This party doesn't have a political program," he said. "Its congresses and its central committees always end up stating the need to extend democracy and to deepen ... I don't know what. But you can't extend something which doesn't exist."

"The party leaders at the beginning were against us because they saw us as a threat to their positions. Now, after a series of meetings we had with them, they have realized they can't exercise power the same way as before, and they are more open to our demands. They understood they may have a chance of rising with us on the wave of our movement. And we have to be careful to separate the chaff from the grain."

Mr. Iwanow said that he is a Catholic and added that most members of his party organization are, "I believe the party should not discriminate against believers," he said. "We have to adapt the Communist Party to our specific conditions. Our people, the Polish people, are Catholic, and it is a big mistake to import and force upon us structures that are alien to our mentality."

With respect to relations with

Moscow, he said, "Our relations with the Soviet Union are, and will remain, friendly. For 36 years we have worked together with our Soviet friends. Sure, we have had some ups and downs, but our relations have always been such as not to threaten our alliance, which is not threatened even now."

"The Soviets should understand, and I think they do understand, very well, that we are only making some order in our house. We want a system which finally will remind us of socialism."

"What interest would the Soviet Union have to intervene in our country. It would be an irrational decision. It would be worse than Hungary, because there, in 1956, it was just Budapest. We have many big towns."

"And then, why should our Soviet friends, seeing that our alliance is not threatened, decide to intervene. It would mean they would have to maintain a population of millions of people with huge debts abroad, a population which in that case would just stop working."

"It would also mean the break-up of the international Communist movement. For all those reasons, I don't see a possibility of an invasion, unless there is a threat that Poland wants to change systems and abandon the Warsaw Pact. And such a threat doesn't exist, although I am aware there are small extremist groups who hurl slogans of this kind. But let's face it, they are fools, with no political judgment."

The writer, a correspondent for the Italian radio network (RAI), wrote this article for the International Herald Tribune.

The International Herald Tribune welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address. The Herald Tribune cannot acknowledge letters sent to the editor.

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Anti-Oliphant

If Oliphant's silly cartoon in IHT, May 29, is the best he could do, the reasoned case against abortion must be a lot stronger than even we pro-life people realize.

JAMES SWETNAM, Rome.

Paris. Editor's Note: In the Le Monde version of the supplement, at least, the masthead did not specify that it was prepared in cooperation with organizations of the UN system. It was, however, mentioned in a front-page article by Mr. Schwobel.

Letters

News from the UN

As promoter and coordinator of the World Supplement, and in reference to the article written by Bernard Nossiter of The New York Times, which appeared in the International Herald Tribune on May 29:

I was shocked to see that The New York Times and the International Herald Tribune, which I highly respect on many points, should publish such a partial article and question so carelessly the responsibility of fellow newspapers to their readers. Let me only observe that:

The World Supplement is identified by a common masthead naming all the participating newspapers, and specifying that it is prepared in cooperation with the organizations of the UN system. It is thus clearly identifiable as editorial matter.

The World Supplement is not published or subsidized by anybody or any organization in order to promote any particular view on the problems of development or of a new international economic order. The balanced variety of opinions expressed within each supplement is alone sufficient proof of this. The supplement does not ad-

vocate any particular solution. It tries to raise questions, and call attention to the urgency of more efficient forms of international cooperation.

I must finally recall that several American newspapers were contacted in view of eventual participation to the project. These all declined participation. Not one of these newspapers, including The New York Times, indicated, however, that they found the financing or the functioning of the project scandalous in any way.

JEAN SCHWOEBEL, Coordinator, World Supplement.

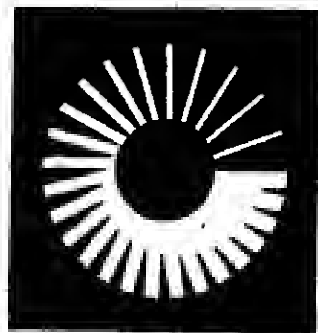
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هكذا من الرجل



The Super 80 is here. But it's so quiet you have to look for it.

The DC-9 Super 80 has already proved itself the world's quietest jetliner, thanks to its super-quiet JT8D-200 series engines. In fact, the Super 80 reduces the high noise level area around airports by 80%. No wonder 15 customers have ordered 107 of these McDonnell Douglas aircraft and hold options on 20 more. So far.



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Bishops Rebuke Marcos on Pius XII Quote

United Press International
MANILA — President Ferdinand Marcos was rebuked by the Philippine Catholic Church on Wednesday for quoting Pope Pius XII as saying that an election boycott was a "mortal sin."

The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines charged in a statement that Mr. Marcos had taken the pope's comments on voting out of context and said that it was not intended for Filipino Roman Catholics.

In a widely publicized speech on Tuesday, Mr. Marcos referred to what he said was a 1948 encyclical in which Pius said voting is "strictly obligatory."

Bishop Cirilo Almarino, the secretary general of the bishops con-

ference, said Pius' statement was not an encyclical, a violation of which is considered a sin, but rather an "allocation" or sermon on the eve of the national elections in Italy.

Bishop Almarino said Pius made the statement "at a time when there was a real danger of a Communist takeover in Italy."

In the statement for the bishops' conference, Bishop Almarino also denied Mr. Marcos' claim that Filipino bishops had issued a pastoral letter calling the boycotting of an election a mortal sin.

Tuesday's presidential elections are the first in the predominantly Roman Catholic country in 12 years. Mr. Marcos' action was viewed as an attempt to blunt an opposition boycott of the presiden-

India and Pakistan Expect Improved Ties After Visit

The Associated Press
ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — Foreign Minister Agha Shahi and his Indian counterpart, P.V. Narasimha Rao, said in a joint statement Wednesday that their official talks provided a good basis for the improvement of bilateral relations.

The discussions took place just before Thursday's arrival of U.S. Undersecretary of State James L. Buckley, who is coming in connection with proposed Pakistan purchases of U.S. arms, reportedly worth \$2.5 billion over a five-year period. India sharply attacked the deal before Mr. Rao's visit.

"Both sides agreed that each had the sovereign right to acquire arms for self-defense," the joint statement said.

In this regard, Mr. Shahi and Mr. Rao "explained to each other the parameters of their defense acquisitions and decided to remain in touch with each other on a continuing basis," according to the statement. India recently condemned a multibillion-dollar weapons deal with the Soviet Union.

"Sorrow Caused

President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq told Indian reporters Tuesday that he had not criticized the Indian-Soviet agreement and that New Delhi's attacks on the proposed U.S. arms deal caused him personal "sorrow and revulsion."

Gen. Zia talked for an hour with Mr. Rao Tuesday night, after telling reporters he sought a "tension-free" relationship with India.

The Pakistani leader, noting past bilateral tensions that spawned three conflicts, said his country desired friendly ties with India.

He found "very encouraging" a letter from Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi which committed India to respecting Pakistan's territorial integrity and sovereignty equality. But a "physical gesture" by Mrs. Gandhi's government was now needed to improve relations, Gen. Zia said.

Asked by one reporter what sort

AMA Assembly Approves Opiates for Terminally Ill

By Philip J. Hilts
Washington Post Service
CHICAGO — The American Medical Association Tuesday approved the use of addictive opiate drugs in cases of painful terminal illness. In another resolution, the annual AMA meeting urged steps to combat the abetting of drug addiction.

Delegates voted to shelve a resolution on infant-formula sales around the world that would have put the assembly on record as supporting the World Health Organization's restrictions on advertising and other marketing techniques.

The delegates refused to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment, but for the first time, affirm "the concept of equal rights for men and women." In the past the AMA had always stopped short of endorsing

Colgate Darden, Ex-Governor of Virginia, Dies

Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — Colgate W. Darden Jr., 84, governor of Virginia from 1942 to 1946 and president of the University of Virginia from 1947 to 1959, an early advocate of desegregating public schools, died Tuesday following a heart attack.

The meeting adopted a report recommending that state medical groups begin an attack on drug abuse. It suggested that regular practice include a 48-hour drug prescription. The time a prescription is written for drugs such as amphetamines; a verifying telephone call from the pharmacist who fills the prescription to the doctor who wrote it, and help from doctors inflicting and prescribing doctors who write illegal prescriptions for profit.

Arguments made for the Equal Rights Amendment included a contention that AMA membership has been slipping because younger doctors object to "what the AMA stands for," as a medical student put it. Another argument was that ailments are created among women — including depression, ulcers and skin rashes — because they are frustrated by unequal treatment.

Before the ERA resolution was virtually shouted down by the largely gray-haired assembly, Dr. Mary Donald of Massachusetts told the delegates, "I'm sure you have all heard how God made Adam and then She corrected her mistake" by creating Eve.

A male delegate spoke briefly against ERA by saying that his daughter, a doctor, was recently offered a "situation," with apologies, at a starting salary of \$81,000. He smiled and sat down.

The meeting was to continue throughout this week and consider about 175 separate issues, including restrictions on handguns, divesting AMA of its holdings in the tobacco industry, support for a ban on federal subsidies to the tobacco industry, and declaring President Reagan's nominee for surgeon general, C. Everett Koop, to be unqualified for the job.

Crowder Baker
NEW YORK (NYT) — Crowder Baker, 75, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co. from 1960 to 1968, died Saturday.

Oscar M. Lazrus
NEW YORK (NYT) — Oscar M. Lazrus, 93, co-founder and former head of the Benrus Watch Co., died Friday.

Allen Ludden
LOS ANGELES (LAT) — Allen Ludden, 63, the genial Emmy-award-winning host of the long-running television game show, "Password," died Tuesday of cancer.

Johannes M. Burgers
WASHINGTON (WP) — Dutch-born Dr. Johannes Martinus Burgers, 86, a leading authority on fluid dynamics and professor emeritus of the University of Maryland's Institute for Physical Science and Technology, died Sunday of pneumonia. He had Parkinson's disease.

Food — A Taste of the New U.S. Army's New Chow

By Fred Ferreri
New York Times Service
FORT DIX, N.J. — In the old Army, food and its preparation were, at best, rudimentary. Quite often at breakfast, greenish powdered eggs preceded either globs of grits or chipped beef in cream sauce on toast, the latter a ubiquitous concoction upon which generations of soldiers conferred many names, none of them complimentary. Steak, on those rare occasions when it made its way to the mess hall, had usually been half-grilled early in the morning so that it could be fried again just before dinner and dropped on a GI mess kit with just the proper degree of teeth-testing toughness. Desserts generally seemed to be made of sweetened cornstarch.

Kitchen Police duty, generally known as KP, was one of the nastier military chores. Groups of unwilling soldiers, usually recruits who were convinced they had been chosen satistically, would spend entire days in mess halls, peeling potatoes and cutting vegetables, carrying whichever supplies mess sergeants didn't wish to carry themselves, cleaning and rearranging tables, chairs and benches, washing dishes scrubbing trays and pots and cleaning out kitchen grease traps.

But this is the new Army.

And in typical volunteer units such as the 4th Battalion's 3d Training Brigade here, which puts 1,000 new recruits through basic training cycles every eight weeks, things have changed noticeably.

"We used to have one meat, one vegetable, one potato," said Spec. 5 Leo Labrecque of the training brigade, who has been an Army cook for 20 years. "Now we have two of everything."

Sometimes Even More Choices

Actually there are at least two of everything, occasionally three or more, and while abundance is not unique in Army mess halls, variety is. In the 3d Training Brigade's dining facility, a vast, high-ceilinged room with lacquered walls and private dining areas set off for the training cadre, there are three different food-choice areas.

Supervised by Staff Sgt. Gordon Lacy, another of the battalion cooks and a graduate of the Army's Food Service School here, a recent luncheon included the "hot line," serving a full meal of vegetable, pork chow, mashed potatoes, corn and beans; the "short-order line," which Labrecque calls,

There's More Choice but Some Things Don't Change. You Come Here, You Read the Menu, Right? You Don't Ask for Steak When There's No Steak, Right?

"our McDonald's line," which had piled-up hamburgers, hot dogs, french fried potatoes and chili, and the "salad bar," a stainless steel island in the center of the room with lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, celery, carrots, pickles, relishes, onions (red and white), olives and hard-boiled eggs.

Soldiers could choose between the "hot line," or the "short-order line," and could smuss as much as they wanted from the central salad bar, which at its other end stocked ice cream sandwiches and cups, pies and flavored yogurt.

But amounts alone are not what Army food is about these days. Most menus come from the Army's Research and Development Laboratories in Natick, Mass., where they are toying with such other mass gastronomic possibilities as meat irradiated with gamma rays, freeze-dried cereal bars, and flaked and "restructured" beef, veal, pork and lamb. Most of the food served in mess halls — now called "dining facilities" — is portion-controlled and prepared, delivered and cooked by civilian contractors.

Menus will include such items as herb or mushroom omelets; baked stuffed pork chops; breaded veal cutlets; chicken, roasted or caeciator; ears of corn; green beans Lyonnaise; waffles; skimmed milk; yogurt, and elaborate salad bars.

Potatoes are no longer peeled, but are piled into a giant steel cylinder — a Blakeslee abrasive sanding machine — and their skins are rubbed off. These potatoes, later cut into chunks and stored in water in 50-gallon drums, are used in potato salad. French fries come crinkle-cut and frozen, ready to be dropped into the Vulcan deep fryers, and mashed potatoes are flakes with water added. Today's Army kitchens are equipped with Blodgett convection ovens, steel kettles to make soups and stocks, giant pressure cookers for vegetables, and huge dishwashers and pot-scrubbers.

And KP?

This, too, is something that civilian contractors bid on, at least for regular Army units. But recruits in their eight-week basic

training cycles still are assigned KP, just as their predecessors were.

And what do they use to?

"Well, just about what they used to," said Maj. Robert Miller, the 4th Battalion's mess officer as well as its executive officer. "They set out the pies, cut them up, put out the ice cream. They wipe, mop, clean, take out the garbage. They fill the milk machines, replenish the soda fountains and run the dishwashers. Scrub pots? They don't do too much of that anymore, since we have our machines."

The Old and the New

In the 3d Training Brigade's dining facility, Pvt. John McHoney, 18, of Humboldt, Tenn., who had helped peel the potatoes, was carrying out the garbage. That's not new. Pvt. Kathryn Grady, 17, of Washington, D.C., and Carolyn Still, 18, of Woodbridge, Va., with labels, printed "DRO" for "dining room orderly," on their hats, were keeping the pies, ice cream and yogurt coming. That's new.

It was the first KP duty for both young women, just 24 weeks in the Army, and they were a bit hampered.

"I'm told it gets better," Still said.

For two other women, it had. In the kitchen, among the 20 Army cooks and four civilian cooks frying hamburgers, cutting up salad greens and slicing loaves of chopped meat into beef patties were two other cooks, Sgt. Patricia Broda of Detroit and Pfc. Martha Ortiz. Ortiz, "left El Barrio in New York two years ago to become an Army cook," she said, and has found it to be such a good job that "I just can't stop learning." Broda cooked for three of her four years in the Army, but has found that she is best at compiling the menus, the KP duty rosters and the other masses of paperwork endemic to the Army, old or new.

But new recruits shouldn't think that the Army's changes are complete. On the luncheon chow line, one young fellow, hair cropped tightly, a blue cylinder pinned to his collar to denote his training platform, walked up to the "hot line" and asked for steak.

"Hey guys," yelled a cook who was serving. "Oy here asked for steak." Laughing. And to the recruit, he said, "You see the menu? You see steak on the menu? No, right? You come here, you read the menu, right? You don't ask for steak when there's no steak, right?"

It was enough to make an old draftee nostalgic.

The London Stage 'Serjeant Musgrave's Dance': A Crisp Parable

By Sheridan Morley
LONDON — "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance," newly revived by the National Theatre on its Courtess stage, is one of those plays that have risen to the status of a classroom classic without ever passing through the thickets of the commercial playhouse circuit.

When it was first staged at the Royal Court in 1959 it cost £5,000 and received the wholehearted support of only a minority of critics. Within less than a decade, however, it had become a school text, an honor granted to none of John Arden's later and more controversial Irish work, and the chances are that audiences going to the National now will certainly

Poetry Festival Verse and Polemics at Cambridge

By Yorick Blumenfeld
International Herald Tribune
CAMBRIDGE, England — What do poets do while Rome burns? If the response of the poetry festival at Cambridge over the weekend is any indication, the answer regrettably would have to be that they would engage in rather interpenetrating, and often distasteful, last minute polemics.

The title of the Sunday symposium, held in this city's historic Corn Exchange, was "What Use Has Poetry in a World in Jeopardy?" The underlying dissatisfaction with this theme was expressed by critic George Steiner, who suggested that poets "can't draw up manifestos of needs, just as we cannot program necessity."

What differentiated this symposium, which was the highlight of the biennial festival which ended Tuesday, from the normal nuclear debate among the intelligentsia and academics of this city, was that many of the contributors stated their case by reading their poems.

Adrian Mitchell led off by reading a poem, "Cambridge Beach," which described the radioactive desert that would be left for those emerging from a blast shelter following World War III. Much to Mitchell's dismay, this verse was later brushed aside by co-panelist Steiner as mere "agitprop."

Michael Rowan-Robinson, an astronomer-poet, tried to put man's impending doom into some kind of cosmic perspective by pointing out that in due course our sun would become a red giant and would swallow up the earth. Yet Rowan-Robinson felt that verse had great moral and political potential and that even "as the Titanic goes down, you need the orchestra to keep on playing," presumably in full dress.

Anthony Rudolf, an editor and poet, delivered an impassioned plea for greater public concern. Those of us who did nothing or kept silent were, in effect, collaborators with those forces preparing for the nuclear holocaust. It had been a victory for Hitler, he suggested, that people could think in terms of megadeaths and mass annihilation. Linguistically, he said, this was something all poets should resist. Rudolf concluded that in World War III, Steiner, sitting in a nuclear fallout shelter in Switzerland (Steiner teaches comparative literature at the University of Geneva) would no longer be listening to good music, reading poetry, or writing critiques, because there would be no point to any further human activity. The world would be dead.

Steiner's Response

Steiner, however, shook his head in contradiction. One clearly felt he would not deny himself any of these final indulgences. Speaking in a very deliberate and measured pace, without the help of notes, Steiner argued that if the poet asks himself what use his poem will be, it will be a very second-rate poem, indeed.

Poetry, said Steiner, genuine poetry that is, represents a creative act arising out of absolute necessity. If it is not necessary, he said, such as the poetry heard at the festival (including the readings of stars like Josef Brodsky and Stanley Kunitz) then we can say well do without it.

Steiner saw the poem as the most important event "against the language of the state" that exists

outside the context of the pluralist societies. He compared such poetry to oxygen in a closed room; a poem read in Prague can have an effect which can hardly be imagined in London or Paris.

Steiner asserted that there was no poem that could conceivably shake a Western government, just as there was no book that could possibly change the sensibility of our politics. It was precisely because contemporary poets felt impotent and lacked any "echo chamber" that they resorted to the recitation of banal verse at conferences such as these, he went on. This pronouncement was greeted with some desecratory hoots by the gathered poets.

Inevitably, political divisions overwhelmed the discussion. As the debate was opened up to the floor, one poet accused the United States of dropping the first atomic bomb and threatening world security, while another countered that the real threat to the world came from Soviet totalitarianism. While some of the speakers read poems suggesting their fear of enslavement was every bit as strong as their fears of a holocaust, it was Steiner who dropped the verbal mini-nukes that enraged many in the audience.

Steiner admitted that if there had been an atomic bomb available for use against Nazi Germany before 1945, he would have advocated dropping it. Denouncing what passed for poetry at this festival as "not necessary," he passionately reminded the audience that if it had not been for the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella over these many years, none of the poets assembled would have had the luxury of speaking at the symposium. The reaction of one academic after the conference was: "George did it again! He blew his cool."

Indispensable Creation

In another contribution, Christopher Cornford, whose brother died in the Spanish Civil War, suggested that "as many of us discovered in attempting 'socially relevant' or even 'revolutionary' art in the 1930s, it is a mistake to force things. Cornford suggested that amid all the rubbish that passes for art, high quality artistic creation is "indispensable because it tells us what is happening at a psychic level, it draws us together 'against all those tendencies that are sucking us towards the holocaust.'"

The poets agreed that they could not be assigned a role: At best, they could only have an effect. One speaker, quoting Martin Buber's essay asking "What is to be done?" replied, "There is no answer."

And in spite of the ineffectual protestations of many doubters, Mitchell introduced a final motion, which was passed by a large majority of the close to 400 in the audience, suggesting that a letter be sent to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher urging the removal of all nuclear missiles and bases from British soil. Whether an administration which has endorsed widespread cuts in funds for the arts would listen to the warnings of the muse seemed beside the point.

The motion also seemed to go against the sense of the festival. As the Nobel Prize winner George Sefaris said shortly before his death: Even if there were only one word left, he would have to use that word at the very end to make a poem. This Cambridge gathering obviously felt that the political motion was stronger than that last word.

that reprisal. His point is pacifism. His method is to show that reprisal can be met by escalated reprisal until in the end we all die or learn to live without killing. His confused idealism is, however, more than the townspeople or even his own fellow officers can ultimately support, and we end up with Musgrave in jail and most of his hopes as dead as his fellow officers.

Heightened Form

In one sense "Musgrave" is about the politics of the labor movement; in another, it is about the moment when any kind of law and order becomes preferable to an anarchy in which individual moral judgments have to be made and kept. It is important to recall that the play was written when the British presence in Cyprus was still sharply in the minds of many, but what gives "Musgrave" its timelessness is the heightened form that Arden has chosen for it; a mix of poetry, prose and ballad interspersed with jokes and caricatured officials and documentary ascriptions adding up to a pageant and a procession and a festival all within the one play.

For the National, John Burt Foster has come up with a crisp, and Brechtian production, through which the wind seems to whistle. As Musgrave, John Thorne gives a gritty central performance underlining that it is he alone who sees clearly the moral issues, even if they happen to be ones which nobody else is either willing or able to live with. Yet in the end, Arden's refusal to make the usual stage concessions of compression, arrangement and focus leave his play looking distinctly woolly; he calls it an "unhistorical parable" and that is precisely all it is.

As we advance toward the middle of the year, a program report on the general health of the London theater might be in order: It has been a long and hard winter, in which at one point no less than 12 mainstream West End playhouses were simultaneously dark, leading to a summer in which at least most of them are now open again. Indeed even the Mayfair and the New End in Hampstead, which once looked gone forever, have made remarkable returns from the beyond.

But it is when you start to look at what is playing in those reopened theaters that you begin to sense a faint feeling of unease. Out of 35 main London theaters no less than 10 are currently housing musicals on their way to or from Broadway, and there is a kind of irony in the fact that just as transatlantic air fares reach an all-time low, so the shows on either end of those journeys become more and more alike. The seeker after new British drama will also have a hard time at the National; where of 12 shows in repertoire only two could remotely be described as new and British, and both of those ("Amadeus" and "Elephant Man") have been on Broadway too far for at least a year.

The pub-theater circuit is still about the best bet for original work, though there, too, recent Arts Council cutbacks have affected the number of new productions and the scale on which they can be mounted. We are rapidly becoming a city of long runs and revivals and, precisely little else; and that, you will recall, was precisely the trouble with Broadway: at the height of its mid-1970s economic troubles.



CUP OF COLD WATER — A Vietnamese child waited patiently for his turn to get purified water at a refugee camp in the Portuguese territory of Macao recently.

Veterans' Sit-In Is Broken Up

New York Times Service
LOS ANGELES — An 18-day protest by Vietnam War veterans has been ended by demonstrators being evicted from the lobby of Wadsworth Veterans Administration Medical Center here and from a camp they had set up outside. Seven persons were arrested when they refused to leave the lobby but were later released.

The protesters, evicted Tuesday, had vowed to stay at the hospital until President Reagan came to see them and until the VA agreed to increase its attention to the delayed effects of combat stress and make a closer study of the effects

of Agent Orange, a herbicide used in the Vietnam War.

More than 40 veterans had joined the protest, including a dozen who said they would refuse to eat until the grievances were resolved. The protest was precipitated by the apparent suicide last month of James Hopkins, a former Marine who had complained of mistreatment by the VA.

Some demonstrators retreated to an Episcopal church where an organization called the Center for Veterans' Rights is based, and said they would make plans to express their grievances in Washington this summer.

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Finland (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00	Russia (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
France (air)	\$405.00	\$235.00	South Africa (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
Germany (air)	\$360.00	\$198.00	Spain (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
Greece (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00	Sweden (air)	\$405.00	\$235.00
Great Britain (air)	\$27.00	\$15.00	Switzerland (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
Greece (sea)	\$1,800.00	\$1,980.00	Turkey (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
Hungary (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00	U.S.A. (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
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Israel (air)	\$124.00	\$99.00	Yugoslavia (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
Italy (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00	Other Eur. (air)	\$115.00	\$31.00
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Lebanon's Christians: Divided and Embattled but Survivors

By William Tuohy

BEIRUT—They are tough, energetic, fractious, sometimes brutal and yet indomitable. Above all, they are survivors.

They are Lebanon's Christians, outsiders in an Arab world that is overwhelmingly Moslem, a people who see themselves as latter-day Crusaders locked in almost-daily battle with their enemies in the mean streets and lovely hills of Lebanon.

"The thing to realize about Lebanon's Christians," said a Western diplomat here, "is they aren't like those in England, or Georgia, or California. They are an entirely different breed."

There is little resemblance to the ordered, ecumenical church in the Western world. Christianity in Lebanon is complex, tribal and feudal. Christians here pay little heed to the New Testament injunction to turn the other cheek. They prefer the Old Testament adage of an eye for an eye.

But while they tend — and often fight — among themselves, the various Christian sects here band together in times of trouble — as they did in the Lebanese civil war of 1975-1976, and may do again.

Nationalist Character

Many Moslem political groups in Lebanon look to a wider Middle Eastern world and emphasize their pan-Arabism. The Christians are more nationalistic, emphasizing their loyalty to the state of Lebanon.

These perceptions are among the causes of the current conflict here. The Christians see their historic political and economic position in Lebanon threatened by the rise of leftist factions in the Moslem community, who they believe are supported by the Palestinians and the Syrians, the two big outside forces in Lebanon.

While they are an Arab people and Arabic speakers, Lebanon's Christians do not identify with the Arab world. As one of the leading Christian chiefs, Pierre Gemayel, put it not long ago:

"Lebanon, as it is, cannot be changed. After God, there is Lebanon. If Lebanon did not exist, we would have to create it. We will never be absorbed by our Arab surroundings."

Moslems are believed to constitute the majority of Lebanon's estimated 2.5 million citizens. They represent the Sunni, Shia and Druze sects of Islam.

The Christians also include a variety of sects. Most are members of Eastern Rite Catholic churches, which recognize the pope but see liturgies that are greatly different from those of the Roman Church, and the Greek Orthodox Church. Roman Catholics and Protestants make up only about 2 percent of the population.

French Mandate

Much of the trouble in Lebanon in recent years springs from the welter of religious communities here, and the basic division between Moslem and Christian. The sectarian nature of Lebanese life was translated into a system of government in 1943, when the country gained its independence. It had been under a French mandate, since the collapse of Ottoman rule during World War I.

At the time of independence the Christians were presumed to hold a 6-to-5 majority, although no census had been taken since 1932. The new government was divided along sectarian lines according to these numbers.

Each religious group was given a slice of the political pie: The president and army commander would be Maronite Christians, the largest of the Eastern Rite sects; the premier would be a Sunni Moslem, the president of

Parliament a Shia, and so on down the line. The 6-to-5 majority gave Christians practical control of the government.

One of the causes of the civil war was a population shift: Christians were believed to have fallen to a 45 percent to 55 percent minority, and under the proportional system, this would have led to an end of Christian rule. In their city and mountain redoubts, Lebanon's tough old Christian chieftains drew the line. The fighting has rarely abated in the five years since, and is now complicated by a wider struggle involving the Palestinians, their Arab allies and the Israelis.

Catholics as 'Latin'

There have been Christians in Lebanon since the time of Jesus. The Roman Catholics, whom the Lebanese tend to refer to as "Latin," since they use the Latin liturgy, make up less than 1 percent of the population, many of them Europeans living here and clergymen.

By far the most powerful Christians in Lebanon are the Maronites, who account for about 30 percent of the population. Although the Maronites entered into full union with Rome in 1736, they kept the Syrian liturgy. Now increasingly, lessons and some prayers are given in Arabic.

The Maronites take their name from St. Maron, a 5th-century hermit who became patron saint of the monks, who then built retreats in the valleys of what is now central Lebanon.

In the 7th century, the Maronites fell into a theological dispute with mainstream Christians and retreated to the fastness of the central mountains — that long range of hills that came to be called Mt. Lebanon.

They supported the Crusaders from 1096 to 1291 and continued to be linked loosely to Rome during the schism, in which the Eastern Orthodox churches broke away from the Roman Catholic Church.

Mountain Purity

Originally, the Maronites were a hill people, and they still talk of the purity of the mountain villages compared with the corruption of the cities, yet over the years they have become prosperous businessmen and politicians and now they form part of the middle and upper classes in Beirut and elsewhere.

The Maronites have always seen themselves as the only Christian "nation" in the Middle East; in fact, in all of Asia with the exception of the Philippines. Pope Leo X described the Maronites as "a rose among thorns."

And they have always been strongly nationalistic, emphasizing their Lebanese identity as descendants of the Phoenicians. They see Lebanon not as the western frontier of the Arab Moslem East, but as the eastern frontier of the Christian West.

A key event in Maronite history — and therefore of Lebanon — was a conflict with the Moslem Druze in 1860, resulting in a massacre of the Christians.

The turmoil led France to send a military force to the region, a move that ultimately resulted in the post-World War I French mandate. French became the second language for the educated class in Lebanon and Syria, and French influence in Beirut and Mount Lebanon was pervasive.

The second-largest Christian sect is the Greek Orthodox, about 10 percent of the population. Its adherents are centered mainly in Beirut and other cities and range up and down the economic scale.

There are several other Eastern Orthodox churches in Lebanon. All, like the Greek Orthodox, reject the primacy of the pope and his infallibility in matters of faith and morals. The Greek Catholics are the second-largest



Suleiman Franjeh



Camille Chamoun



Pierre Gemayel

Uniate, or Eastern Rite, congregation, constituting about 6 percent of the population. They broke away from the Greek Orthodox Church in the 18th century.

While fully accepting Roman Catholic dogma, the Greek Catholics, more precisely identified as Melchite Rite Catholics, generally remain close to the Byzantine rites of the Greek Orthodox Church, using Arabic as the liturgical language.

Greek Catholics make up about half the population of Zahlé, the capital of the inland Bekaa Valley and site of recent fighting between Syrian troops and Maronite militiamen. They tend to be proud of their Arab cultural heritage. Many have emigrated to the United States.

The smaller Uniate Christian churches linked with Rome are the Syrian Catholics, the Armenian Catholics and the Chaldeans, each with fewer than 30,000 members.

Similarly, there are small congregations of Eastern Orthodox sects: the Armenian Orthodox, the Syrian Jacobites and the Nestorians, also called Assyrians.

People in the small Protestant community are nearly all converts from other Christian groups — the result of American and British missionary activity during the last century.

There has always been a small Jewish community in Lebanon, but it has dwindled in recent years, in part because the Jewish quarter in Beirut was close to the scene of major fighting during the civil war.

Over the years, most of the religious sects have developed political parties to further their ends within the pluralistic society left behind

by the French. And as tension increased, many of the parties developed paramilitary units to protect their communities from attacks by other religious groups.

The Maronite sect, while the biggest and most influential of the Christian entities, has traditionally been rent by family and tribal feuds, with individual chieftains struggling for supremacy within the community and in Lebanon at large.

Three major factions have developed, all led by men now in their 70s. They are: Camille Chamoun, a former president, who persuaded Eisenhower to send U.S. troops to Lebanon during a political crisis in 1958. Mr. Chamoun's followers live in the Chouf region southeast of Beirut, also the home of the Islamic Druze.

Mr. Chamoun achieved political power as head of the National Liberal Party and is still active in politics today. A smooth politician, he is at ease on the world stage.

Suleiman Franjeh, another former president and durable clansman, who rules the Maronites in northern Lebanon. Unlike Mr. Chamoun, Mr. Franjeh is an inward-looking, tough tribal leader who holds court in the city of Zehorta.

Mr. Gemayel, a longtime power broker who founded the Phalangist Party, the biggest and best-organized of the Maronite groups with the most powerful militia headed by his son, Bachir. Mr. Gemayel, often addressed by the Arabic honorific sheikh, is based south of Beirut.

In recent years, the Maronite leaders have expressed particular concern over the rise of radical Moslem parties, which presented the Christians with an Islamic opposition no longer blindly following the moderate Sunni and Shia leadership.

The new movements often took on the pan-Arab aims of Egyptian revolutionary leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, demanding economic and political equality in Lebanon and an end to confessional politics.

The Maronites also felt threatened by the rise of the mostly Moslem Palestinian groups inside Lebanon, which the Christians charged had become "a state within a state."

The Palestinians first came to Lebanon during Israel's 1948-1949 war of independence and their ranks were swelled in the 1967 Arab-Israeli Six Day War. After King Hussein cracked down on their activities in Jordan in 1970, the Palestinians moved the base of their guerrilla operations against Israel to Lebanon.

And, finally, the Maronites were deeply suspicious of the Syrians, who had always resented the French carving an independent Lebanon out of what Damascus considered historic Syrian territory.

Rally to Maronites

In times of trouble, the smaller Christian groups tend to rally around the Maronite leadership. As a Greek Orthodox resident of Beirut put it recently: "I consider myself almost a Maronite when it comes to resisting the Moslems."

But in times of peace, many Christian sects are cool to the Maronites. The Armenians, for instance, tend to remain neutral.

"I'm not sure the Maronites are a good horse to bet on in a civil war," a young Armenian said recently. "We prefer to stay out of it."

By 1975, the sectarian conflict had escalated

into civil war, with the Maronites leading the Christian forces. They gained mixed results and eventually were threatened by a combined force of Moslem radicals, Palestinians and Druze, who moved into traditional Maronite territory in the Lebanese mountains. Ironically, it was the arrival of the Syrians in 1976 as Arab League peace-keepers that spared the Christians from disaster.

Once the tenuous peace was achieved, however, the Maronites renewed their internecine power struggle.

The Phalangists, who had emerged as the most ruthless of the militias, were accused of shooting to death Tony Franjeh, son of the former president. Then the Phalangist militia subdued the private army of Mr. Chamoun.

Franjeh's Reaction

Mr. Chamoun capitulated, becoming the titular head of the Lebanese Front, in league with the Phalangists. But Mr. Franjeh, embittered by the killing of his son, threw his political influence in northern Lebanon toward the Syrians.

Meanwhile, the Phalangists entered into an alliance with the Israelis, first in beleaguered southern Lebanon, where Christian villagers rallied around a renegade Lebanese Army major, Saad Haddad.

Later, the Israelis supplied the main Phalangist forces with weapons and supplies through the port of Junieh, north of Beirut.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin has recently declared his "commitment" to the Christians of Lebanon. But diplomatic observers here point out that the Israeli commitment did not come during the darkest days of the civil war. They suggest that Mr. Begin's interest is not so much in helping the Christians as in keeping the Lebanese pot boiling — Christians matched against Palestinians in the south and the Syrians in the north — in order to relieve the guerrilla pressure on Israel's northern border.

While Bachir Gemayel is now undoubtedly the top man among the Christian militants, as leader of his father's Phalangist militia, his detractors believe that his victories may be mainly Pyrrhic.

"Before the civil war," said one critic, "the Maronites pretty much were able to run Lebanon. Had they been more farsighted and arranged for more power-sharing with the country's other groups, they could probably still be running the show."

"But now they hold only one-tenth of the country geographically — a kind of Maronistan. This does not seem like good statesmanship or good generalship."

Discrimination Is Feared

Yet the Maronites see themselves as defenders of the traditional free-enterprise values of Lebanon and they would sooner see the country partitioned than accept a majority Moslem government, which they think would discriminate against them.

And the Maronites now believe they are about to get new support from the Reagan administration.

Karim Pakradouni, one of Bachir Gemayel's leading deputies in the Phalangist movement, said recently: "The Lebanese resistance has succeeded in changing international priorities in this conflict."

"The conflict started out as a Phalangist-Syrian one, changed into a Syrian-Israeli one and has now become a conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union."

"Because of this change, Lebanon has risen from No. 17 to No. 1 on the list of international priorities."

And that rating, however ominous, seems to suit the Christian Maronites just fine.

New Timerman Book Stirs Dispute on Author

Some U.S. Writers Say Ex-Publisher Exaggerates Anti-Semitism in Argentina

By Colin Campbell

NEW YORK — When the personal story of the 2½-year imprisonment and torture of Jacobo Timerman, the Argentine newspaper publisher, first appeared in the United States, the public response was thoroughly sympathetic. He was hailed as an eloquent witness to a system of torture, murder and institutionalized anti-Semitism in Argentina.

In the course of his account, Mr. Timerman, a Jew, accused the Argentine government of being profoundly anti-Semitic and he has suggested, since his expulsion in late 1979, that some Jewish leaders in Argentina, Israel and the United States must share the blame for the troubles of Argentina's Jews because they have failed to condemn that country's rulers.

Over the last few weeks, however, some prominent writers have criticized several facets of Mr. Timerman's narrative. Mr. Timerman and his defenders have come under attack from supporters of President Reagan's human rights policy and, to a lesser extent, from Jews who accuse him of exaggerating Argentina's anti-Semitism and of perhaps imperiling that country's Jews.

The objections came in response to charges by supporters of Mr. Timerman that too many Americans had been silent over developments in Argentina that reminded some observers of events in Nazi Germany in the 1930s.

Kristol's Attack

On May 29, an attack on the Argentine exile and his supporters appeared in The Wall Street Journal, in a column by Irving Kristol. Since then, charges and countercharges have increased.

Mr. Kristol is professor of social thought at New York University and a prominent exponent of what is known as neoconservatism. He agreed in his article with earlier reviewers that no one could read Mr. Timerman's book, "Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number," without feeling "compassion for Mr. Timerman and his thousands of fellow victims," and "outrage at the bestiality and paranoid anti-Semitism of some sections of the Argentine military."

However, Mr. Kristol charged that Mr. Timerman's defenders in the "self-styled human rights movement" had "studiously ignored" victims of Communist oppression. Mr. Kristol also raised questions about Mr. Timerman's character, saying that his daily newspaper in Buenos Aires, La Opinion, had been financed by an Argentine financier named David Graiver.

Mr. Graiver, who was reported in 1976 to have died in a plane crash in Mexico, had earlier been accused by Manhattan's district attorney of looting his own bank, American Bank & Trust, of tens of millions of dollars, precipitating its bankruptcy. Mr. Graiver had also been accused by the Argentine government, Mr. Kristol noted, of having been the money manager for a group of ultraleftist Argentine terrorists called the Montoneros.

It was puzzling, Mr. Kristol said, that Mr. Timerman — who now lives in Tel Aviv — did not mention his connection with Mr. Graiver in his book. Mr. Kristol also described it as "puzzling" that Mr. Timerman was being treated with "reserve" by "most liberal journalists in Argentina, by the Argentine Jewish community and by the more reputable American Jewish organizations."

Mr. Kristol went on to say: "Though anti-Semitism may be rife in certain segments of Argentine society, the government has been doing — and is doing — its best to render it ineffectual."

Argentinian Rights

Mr. Kristol argued that the fact that Argentinians enjoyed such such rights as freedom of religion, freedom to engage in Zionist political activity and to emigrate showed that Argentina's anti-Communist regime was "authoritarian" rather than "totalitarian." He concluded by voicing suspicion that some American leftists had a "secret agenda" of crusading against the authoritarian right to goad Argentina's most extreme rightist elements into confirming, the left's worst fears.

Rabbi Morison M. Rosenthal, who keeps watch on Latin American affairs for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, called the Kristol article a "piece of character assassination." By contrast, a prominent Jewish theologian, who declined to be named, said in an interview that he was "rather pleased with the article because it sounded like what I thought."

Mr. Timerman, who was interviewed by telephone at his home in Tel Aviv, said of the Kristol article: "I have been persecuted for many reasons. Should I be persecuted by Mr. Kristol again? Should I answer him? No."

Others expressed divided views about Mr. Timerman himself. And although most felt that current discussions among Jews of Argentina's anti-Semitism were less heated than related discussions of American human rights policy, they agreed that the Timerman affair had raised more heat than anyone anticipated.

For Jews, the controversy has touched on such old and painful questions as how to judge whether widespread anti-Semitism is officially sanctioned or not; what part the fact of an arrested person's being Jewish, as distinguished from his politics, might play in his persecution; how exactly to speak out, if at all, in the face of persecution; and whether Israel's polite relations with, and sale of arms to, Argentina amount to a seal of approval.

Mr. Timerman has sharply criticized the Reagan administration for its belief that "quiet diplomacy" works best in influencing the human rights record of rightist regimes.

Harsh Language

Mr. Timerman — who has described himself as a "Zionist of the left" despite his support in 1976 for the military coup that toppled the regime of Isabel Martinez de Peron — has sometimes used extremely harsh language to criticize conservative leaders in Washington and

Jerusalem, just as he spoke out against the military regime that rules in Argentina.

Deciding how to deal with Argentina, said Nathan Perlmuter, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League, is a "question of strategy" on which honest men can differ. He added, regarding reports that many Jews in Argentina felt that Mr. Timerman exaggerated the danger they were in: "I don't think Argentinian Jews are less concerned with the persecution of Jews than Jacobo Timerman is."

Being Jewish in Argentina during the period of his imprisonment, Mr. Timerman wrote in his book, "was a category of guilt, even when we were declared innocent of other offenses and absolved of other crimes." The author said that an anti-Semitic strain, which is widely held to have existed for decades in Argentina, had at last penetrated the nation's highest leadership and was still virulent even now that opponents of the regime have stopped "disappearing."

Mr. Timerman charged, moreover, that "deceit shocks on my genitals" had not humiliated him so much as the "silent complicity of Jewish leaders."

Albert Vorspan, vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a Reform group, said that at least one of his associates in Argentina — whom he wanted to remain unnamed for fear of reprisal — had told him he agreed with Mr. Timerman's analysis of Argentine anti-Semitism and with his criticism of Argentina's "Jewish establishment."

As for the recent attacks on Mr. Timerman, Mr. Vorspan said he was stunned at their apparent "orchestration." Mr. Timerman, he said, "stands as a symbol of the opposition to the Reagan doctrine."

Lack of Information Cited

Mr. Kristol said that a lack of information made judgments difficult. He said: "What is the situation in Argentina? There's a big factual issue here. I based my account on conversations with Jews from Argentina."

Mr. Kristol said he also had depended on an article in the December issue of Midstream magazine by Benno Weiser Varon, a former Israeli diplomat in several Latin American countries and now a free-lance writer living in Brookline, Mass. The article, entitled "Don't Rescue Latin American Jews!" charged that Mr. Timerman's account of torture and anti-Semitism, which had already been widely publicized, "distorts the image of Argentina's Jewry."

Mr. Varon wrote that most of Argentina's 300,000 Jews were prospering and suggested that anti-Semitism in that country, although very ugly, was no more official or dangerous to the Jewish population as a whole than anti-Semitism in, for example, France. He also presented an account of Mr. Timerman's relations with the financier David Graiver.

But Rabbi Rosenthal said he thought that Mr. Varon's article was "garbage" and had badly misstated certain facts relating to Mr. Graiver.

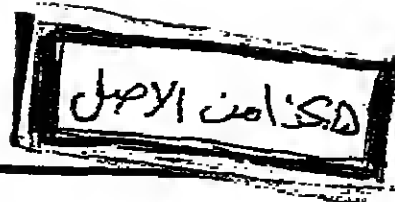
"Graiver and Timerman," said Rabbi



Jacobo Timerman, above right, with an official of the Anti-Defamation League in New York recently. The former newspaper publisher has written an account of his arrest and torture in Argentina that has caused some commentators, such as Irving Kristol, right, to express outrage, but also to criticize his assertions that Jews there are on the verge of destruction. Some commentators have raised questions about Mr. Timerman's role as newspaper publisher in Argentina.



The Washington Post



Oil Cutoff Unlikely Despite Israeli Raid

By Douglas Martin New York Times Service NEW YORK — In the wake of Israel's attack on an Iraqi nuclear reactor, oil industry officials and analysts are discounting the possibility of an oil embargo against the United States by Arab petroleum producers.

Scallop, a U.S. affiliate of the Royal Dutch-Shell Group, Tuesday cut the price of heavy fuel oil of the type used by utilities and apartment buildings by between \$2.50 and \$3 a barrel, following a similar move by Exxon on Monday.

BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

AT&T Sells Record \$940 Million of Common NEW YORK — American Telephone & Telegraph on Wednesday sold \$940.5 million in common stock, the largest equity financing in history.

Tokyo, Bonn in Export Limit Accord

By Jonathan Tharcher Reuters TOKYO — Japan will limit automobile exports to West Germany in 1981 to no more than 10 percent above 1980 levels.

West Germany, where plants have been forced to close because of Japanese competition, it was "difficult to explain why, for example, Japan still places quotas on imports of leather goods such as shoes."

He condemned protectionism and bilateralism, however, criticizing the recent agreement between Japan and the United States to curb Japanese car exports to the United States.

export restraints but reject any overall policy to limit sales to Western Europe during Mr. Tanaka's visit to Europe.

Nothing so much as quivered today," said Hubert Peckworth, editorial director of Platt's Oil Price Report, a trade publication that tracks pricing trends.

Japan Firms Win Kuwaiti Desalting Contract

TOKYO — Three Japanese companies have signed a \$386-million contract to provide Kuwait with 12 desalination plants by April, 1985, it was announced Wednesday.

Prices on Wall Street Suffer Small Loss

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange fell slightly Wednesday, despite a prime rate cut by a major New York bank.

to lower the prime charge. Just how much is a major question. Some experts predict a 14 percent prime by year-end.

The survey found projected 1981 capital spending of \$320.5 billion down \$5.2 billion from what they had planned to spend when questioned in January and February.

In London, the dollar steadied during the day but closed sharply down from Tuesday night's close, dealers said.

Analysts Take the Shine Off Steel Stocks

NEW YORK — U.S. concern over steel imports, which have increased as foreign producers' currencies have weakened, has chipped away a good part of the gains made this year by steel stocks.

Large Stocks

The officials said that Japanese car sales in West Germany may rise by more than 10 percent because importers appear to have built up large stocks of Japanese cars in West Germany.

Swiss Prices Rise in May

BERN — The Swiss wholesale price index rose 0.5 percent in May after a 0.3-percent rise in April, officials announced Wednesday.

Nigerian Oil Output Off

LAGOS — Nigerian crude oil output fell in March by about 3.6 percent from February and by about 13.4 percent on the year-ago figure to 57.8 million barrels.

New French Tax Plan Aims at Very Rich

Paul Lewis New York Times Service PARIS — France's new Socialist leaders Wednesday slapped a super income tax on the very rich and said they will also tax expensive account entertaining by top executives, company limousines and apartments as well as increasing taxes on luxury yachts and hotels.

to charge companies a 10 percent tax on the value of meals, receptions, presents, limousines and apartments they provide for their 10 highest-paid executives.

Bonn Estimates Poles Debt Cost

BONN — Payments by the West German government-backed export credit guarantee agency, Hermes-Kredit-Versicherung, to parties suffering from the default of Polish credits will exceed 600 million Deutsche marks this year, an Economics Ministry spokesman said.

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New Tax on Rich

Under the proposed new budget, which still requires parliamentary approval, high-bracket taxpayers will receive a temporary 25 percent tax bill for 25 percent of the amount by which their regular income tax exceeds \$17,850 this year.

Bonn Estimates Poles Debt Cost

BONN — Payments by the West German government-backed export credit guarantee agency, Hermes-Kredit-Versicherung, to parties suffering from the default of Polish credits will exceed 600 million Deutsche marks this year, an Economics Ministry spokesman said.

CURRENCY RATES

Table with columns for currency, unit, and rate. Includes entries for London, Paris, Frankfurt, etc.

Advertisement for Brussels-based New York Stock Exchange Firm Seeking Experienced Registered Representative. Includes contact information for Box D 1770, International Herald Tribune.

Goldman Sachs International Corp. advertisement. Includes logo, address (162 Queen Victoria Street, London EC4V 4DB), and contact information for London, Tokyo, and Zurich offices.

NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 10

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

12 Month Stock	High	Low	Close	Change	12 Month Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Close	Change	12 Month Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Close	Change	12 Month Stock	High	Low	Close	Change

Demand Is Accelerating for Armored Cars

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

HOLLYWOOD, Fla. — Richard C. Medlin is a man with a light-hearted approach to a grim business.

The calling card of his Custom Armor Manufacturing carries three miniature holes above a cluster of spent cartridges, and his favorite paring shot for a client leaving his shop with one of his custom-made bullet-proof vests is, "If you have any trouble with that thing, you give me a call."

It is not that he is glib. But the growing need that edgy people around the world feel to protect themselves from terrorist attacks is making him rich.

He recently moved here to be near his Latin American customers, who make up half of his business.

Almost all the rest of his clients come from Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. Medlin has fashioned armored cars for Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany, King Juan Carlos I of Spain and for the presidents of El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Iraq and Mexico. Though the shah was forced to leave Iran before receiving his Medlin order, he rode in two others during stays in Mexico and Panama.

Bomb-Proof Bible Case

Mr. Medlin constructed a bomb-proof case for the \$2.5 million Gutenberg Bible at the Humanities Research Center in Austin, Texas, and a special bullet-resistant wagon for the favorite horse of a Salvadoran millionaire. The armored

van designed for the Saudi royal family has seats that elevate through two sun roofs to permit hunting with falcons.

It is a business that virtually did not exist until five years ago, Mr. Medlin said. When he and a partner opened his original company in San Antonio in 1976 they planned to armor 14 cars a year but were soon making 10 a month to meet immediate demand. They did \$1.7 million of business in 1977, \$3.2 million in 1978 and \$6.4 million in 1979.

He left the San Antonio company last year and opened his own concern here. In his first year in Florida he says he has done \$700,000 worth of business.

Industry analysts expect there to be 3,500 armored cars worldwide by the end of this year. Mr. Medlin's companies have made 400 so far.

Security-conscious himself, Mr. Medlin did not want any pictures taken in which he was clearly identifiable. He is also deliberately vague about years he spent as a government police agent in such countries as Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Panama and Costa Rica. Asked if he was working for the CIA, he said, "I was working for the United States government."

Born in Hereford, Texas, 53 years ago, Mr. Medlin has specialized in electronic surveillance, psychological stress-testing and polygraph testing. By 1975, he was doing private consulting work in Mexico and decided he could improve upon the kind of armored car that executives and government officials used there.

Using a method of fitting soft body armor like that used in light-vests to rigid materials, he was able to construct a much lighter car.

"Generally, bullet-proof cars still leave a lot to be desired," said Carmine Pellosi, vice president of CCS Communication Control, a New York manufacturer and distributor of security products that purchases Medlin cars. "Their standards are so low that they do not pass threat-level tests," he added. "But when you ask for Medlin to build one to a certain standard the company does it."

Mr. Pellosi added that all Medlin cars were rated at the highest "threat level," meaning they are designed to withstand long-range fire.

European Stock Markets

Market	Index	Change	Market	Index	Change
Amsterdam	100	+1.2	London	100	+0.8
Brussels	100	+0.5	Frankfurt	100	+1.1
Zurich	100	+0.3	Milan	100	+0.7

Toronto Stocks

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 AMCA	10.25	10.00	10.10	+0.10
1230 BHP	11.50	11.25	11.40	+0.15
1230 IMP	12.00	11.75	11.90	+0.15

Montreal Stocks

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BMO	15.00	14.75	14.90	+0.15
1230 CIBC	16.00	15.75	15.90	+0.15
1230 FIDEL	17.00	16.75	16.90	+0.15

European Options

Option	Price	Change
1230 Call	1.20	+0.05
1230 Put	1.10	+0.05

Gold Options

Option	Price	Change
1230 Call	1.50	+0.05
1230 Put	1.40	+0.05

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26, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

Canadian Indexes

Index	Value	Change
1230 S&P	100	+0.5
1230 DOW	100	+0.3

Tokyo Exchange

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 NIPPON	100	98	99	+1
1230 TOYO	110	108	109	+1

Frankfurt

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BASF	100	98	99	+1
1230 SAP	110	108	109	+1

Milan

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 ENI	100	98	99	+1
1230 IRI	110	108	109	+1

Zurich

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 ABB	100	98	99	+1
1230 BILBAO	110	108	109	+1

Amsterdam

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 ABN	100	98	99	+1
1230 RABOBANK	110	108	109	+1

Brussels

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 CIB	100	98	99	+1
1230 CIB	110	108	109	+1

London

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BHP	100	98	99	+1
1230 IMP	110	108	109	+1

Paris

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 AIR	100	98	99	+1
1230 BOU	110	108	109	+1

Madrid

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

Barcelona

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

Valencia

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

Seville

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

Malaga

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

Granada

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

Almeria

Stock	High	Low	Close	Change
1230 BANCIA	100	98	99	+1
1230 BANCIA	110	108	109	+1

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Tokyo Pacific Holdings N.V.

on January 1, 1980: U.S. \$66.42
on June 9, 1981: U.S. \$85.12

Listed on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange

Information: Pierson, Heiding & Pierson N.V., Heregracht 214, 1016 BS Amsterdam.

NOTICE OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS

The Annual General Meeting of Shareholders of G.T. INVESTMENT FUND will be held at its registered office, 14, rue Aldringen, on Friday, June 19th, 1981 at 10 o'clock a.m. for the purpose of considering and voting upon the following matters:

1. To hear and accept the reports of:
 - a. the directors
 - b. the statutory auditor.
2. To approve the report of the directors for the year ended 31st December, 1980 including the statement of net assets as at 31st December, 1980 and statement of operations for the year ended 31st December, 1980.
3. To discharge the directors and the statutory auditor with respect to their performance of duties from 1 January, 1980 to 31 December, 1980.
4. To elect directors to serve until the next annual general meeting of shareholders.
5. To elect a statutory auditor to serve until the next annual general meeting of shareholders.
6. To approve the declaration of a dividend of US\$0.10 per share to be payable on June 26th, 1981 to registered and bearer shareholders at the close of business 19 June, 1981 and that shares be traded ex dividend after 19 June, 1981.
7. Other business.

Resolutions on the agenda of the Ordinary General Meeting will require no quorum and will be adopted if voted by majority of the shareholders present or represented.

In order to take part at the General Meeting of June 19th, 1981 the owners of bearer shares will have to deposit their shares five clear days before the meeting with one of the following banks or brokers, who are authorized to receive the shares on deposit:

- Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank N.V., Amsterdam
- Bank Julius Bär & C° A.G., Zurich
- Banca d'America e d'Italia, Milan
- Banque Generale de Luxembourg, Luxembourg
- Banca Commerciale Italiana, Milan
- Banco del Gottardo, Lugano
- Banca di Napoli, Naples
- Banca di Sicilia, Palermo
- Bank Leu & C°, Zurich
- Banque de l'Indochine et de Siam, Paris
- Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Paris 2°
- John. Bevan, Gossard & C°, Hong Kong
- Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft-Frankfurter Bank, Frankfurt
- Berliner Bank A.G., Berlin
- Effenbank-Warburg Aktiengesellschaft, Frankfurt
- Goyens & Zornow Bank A.G., Zurich
- Baden-Württembergische Bank A.G., Heilbronn
- Nederlandse Creditbank, Amsterdam
- Pireos, Heiding & Pierson, Amsterdam
- Privatbanken i Kjöbenhavn A.S., Copenhagen
- Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, Stockholm
- Banca della Svizzera Italiana, Lugano
- Banque Transatlantique, Paris 9°
- Caisse Nationale de Credit Agricole, Paris 15°
- Credit Industriel et Commercial, Paris 9°
- Merrill Lynch, Pierson, Fensler & Smith Securities Underwriter
- Limited, London EC1A 4TD
- Credit Industriel d'Alsace et de Lorraine, Luxembourg
- Dewey Luxembourg S.A., Luxembourg
- R. Heeringa Jr., Copenhagen
- Samuel Montagu & C° Limited, London EC2P 2BY
- Bayerische Vereinsbank, München
- Vereins- und Wechselbank A.G., Hamburg

The Board of Directors

Air France Purchase Of Airbus 320s Likely

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Air France has announced preliminary plans to buy 25 Airbus 320 airliners, thus becoming the first airline to place even a tentative order in the fierce new competition by airlines to market a fuel-efficient jet airliner designed to carry around 150 passengers.

Air France said Tuesday it was taking an option on 25 additional 320s. The decision came five days after Airbus Industrie voted to push development of the 320.

COMPANY REPORTS

Revenue and profits, in millions, are in local currencies unless otherwise indicated

Company	Revenue	Profit
Britain		
Hanson Trust	19.0	1.0
2nd Half	11.7	0.6
Revenue	11.7	0.6
Per Share	0.107	0.09
France		
Esso Sof	1980	1979
Revenue	300.9	210.5

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AMSTERDAM DEPOSTAAR COMPANY N.V.

Amsterdam, June 4, 1981.

AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 10

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Main table of AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 10, listing various stocks and their prices.

Chicago Futures

Chicago Futures table listing prices for Wheat, Corn, Soybeans, and other commodities.

U.S. COMMODITY PRICES

U.S. Commodity Prices table listing prices for various commodities like Sugar, Coffee, and Lumber.

International Monetary Market

International Monetary Market table listing exchange rates for various currencies.

London Metals Market

London Metals Market table listing prices for metals like Gold, Silver, and Platinum.

London Commodities

London Commodities table listing prices for commodities like Sugar and Coffee.

Paris Commodities

Paris Commodities table listing prices for commodities like Sugar and Coffee.

Market Summary

Market Summary table listing NYSE Most Actives and Dow Jones Averages.

Selected Over-the-Counter

Selected Over-the-Counter table listing prices for various over-the-counter stocks.

AMEX Index

AMEX Index table listing the AMEX index value and other market data.

Cash Prices

Cash Prices table listing prices for various commodities.

Commodity Indexes

Commodity Indexes table listing various commodity index values.

Dividends

Dividends table listing dividend information for various stocks.

Wednesday's New Highs and Lows

Wednesday's New Highs and Lows table listing high and low prices for various stocks.

Standard & Poors

Standard & Poors table listing Standard & Poors index values.

NYSE Index

NYSE Index table listing the NYSE index value and other market data.

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